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WESTERN AMERICANA

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EL ESCMO S$^{r.}$ G$^{al.}$ DE DIVISION D. ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

Presidente de la Republica Mexicana.

Ackermann's lith 120 Fulton S$^{t.}$ N.Y.

Harriett Jane Johnston

1868.

THE
OTHER SIDE:
OR
NOTES
FOR THE
HISTORY OF THE WAR
BETWEEN
MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

WRITTEN IN MEXICO.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH,

AND EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY

ALBERT C. RAMSEY,

COLONEL OF THE ELEVENTH UNITED STATES INFANTRY DURING THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

WITH PORTRAITS OF DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS, PLANS OF BATTLES, TABLES OF FORCES, &C., &C., &C.

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PREFACE.

It is seldom that a work is presented to the public possessing the double attraction of a literary curiosity, and also one side of a great question entirely original. This book is believed to be the first Mexican historical production which has been deemed worthy of a translation into the English language; and its excellence will insure for its authors a high celebrity as men of taste, learning, and practical discrimination. For these reasons alone it will receive attention.

But as an important addition to history, and that especially of the United States, its claims to notice are too numerous to be neglected, or passed in silence.

It is true that in one respect it has many errors and mistakes, when speaking of the American operations, opinions, and views: but at the same time it must be remembered that American reports, notes, letters, and books, abound with a still greater number of errors and mistakes, when touching on the Mexican policy and measures. In fact, the latter are far better informed on subjects pertaining to the United States, than are the American people informed on subjects pertaining to Mexico. No better illustration of this remark can be afforded than this work itself.

The original intention was not to translate these notes separately, but to incorporate them into a larger history on the war between the two Republics. But being under the obligation of a promise to some of these authors and others of high literary attainments in Mexico to give that nation a fair hearing on so grave a subject, it was finally deemed best to give their story as they have told it. Thus the duty has been discharged, and no further responsibility to them remains than what truth and candor always demand from every writer. For this reason, also, notes have been very sparingly added which might contradict the text; and, in fact, such intention is foreign to this edition. The whole object has been to render faithfully the spirit and meaning of the original, and as such is its only claim to consideration.

The notes appended are purely for illustration, and without which many passages would be only imperfectly understood, that were intended for Mexican readers. Therefore the passing over any important event must not be inferred to give assent to what is stated. But, once for all, it may be declared that the intention to write a faithful history was entertained by these authors, and they have performed the task to the best of their fidelity and abilities. To any person at all acquainted with the bitterness of party spirit in Mexico, and the immense stake in life and property involved in their civil contests, it will be amazing how such an impartial history as this could have been composed.

The omissions casually indicated in the pages show but too plainly that some circumstances have been entirely suppressed, from the want of agreement among themselves as to the truth. They have, however, briefly made known their difficulties; and while this declaration must make all respect their candor, it will heighten admiration for the talent, learning, and patriotic feeling pervading this gem in their nation's literature.

One word more must be added for the American reader. The horrors and ravages of war are herein portrayed with a vividness which our style of composition seldom allows. The peculiar delicacy of feeling, and the refined sensibility, so decidedly feminine in the Mexican character, have given them a pre-eminence over some others in this species of delineation. They, therefore, indulge in it, not drawing from their imagination, but from memory, to give life and truth to the picture. At the outset, therefore, it must be declared, to prevent a misconception of many passages, that this work has no fancy in it whatever. It is purely fact, and fact too well known, in sorrow, sometimes, to the whole American army. The poetical descriptions have the additional charm of being no less true than beautiful. The chapter on the abandonment of Tampico is the only article in which there is much of the prevailing style in Mexican political disquisitions. Its literary merit is in its being a fair specimen of the prolific partisan press of that country, and will, no doubt, suffice for the curiosity of strangers. The other portions of the book are on a far higher and much more unusual standard.

In conclusion, a remark has to be made on the sufferings and scourges of the Mexican army in some of their marches. These are so singular that some will suppose them fanciful; while, on the other hand, the American soldiers may believe them painted in darker colors in the translation. For, with the exception of hunger, *the same kind were, at different* *times, undergone by the whole American army.* They may seem inclined to declare that no Mexican could so well have portrayed their privations. But in answer it may be asked, where is the American possessing the peculiar talent and the dearly bought information, who could surpass, or even imitate some of these descriptions? When it is desirable to know what the Americans suffered in Mexico, this work can be consulted: for what the Mexicans have written of their countrymen will apply to the Americans.

THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

NEW YORK, *December*, 1849.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. Page

Origin of the War 1

CHAPTER II.

The Commencement of Hostilities—Palo Alto—The Resaca—Retreat of the Army to Linares 33

CHAPTER III.

Monterey 62

CHAPTER IV.

The Army at San Luis Potosi 81

CHAPTER V.

Tampico abandoned—Change of the base of operations 99

CHAPTER VI.

The march of the Army from San Luis—Battle of the Angostura, or Buena Vista 114

CHAPTER VII.

The Army withdraws to San Luis—March to Cerro-Gordo . . 130

CHAPTER VIII.

Polkos and Puros 149

Page

CHAPTER IX.

The Battle of the Sacramento 167

CHAPTER X.

Vera Cruz 180

CHAPTER XI.

Cerro-Gordo and Orizava 198

CHAPTER XII.

Retreat of the Cavalry. Abandonment of Perote and la Olla, Puebla and Amozoc 220

CHAPTER XIII.

Presidency of General D. Pedro María Anaya 229

CHAPTER XIV.

Mexico on the 9th of August, 1847 238

CHAPTER XV.

El Peñon 246

CHAPTER XVI.

The Army of the North—its march to Mexico—stationed in Guadalupe Hidalgo—its transit to San Angel 259

CHAPTER XVII.

Battle of Padierna—Contreras 268

CHAPTER XVIII.

Bridge of Churubusco 282

CHAPTER XIX.

Convent of Churubusco 289

CHAPTER XX.

Armistice—Negotiations of Peace—New breaking out of Hostilities, from the 21st of Aug. to the 8th of Sept., 1847 300

Page

CHAPTER XXI.

El Molino del Rey 332

CHAPTER XXII.

Storming of the Castle of Chapultepec—actions in the garitas—junta of war in the Citadel 349

CHAPTER XXIII.

Mexico, on the days of the 14th, 15th, and 16th of September, 1847 374

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Army leaving the Capital. Its division into two sections. March of the first to Querétaro and of the second to Puebla 388

CHAPTER XXV.

Puebla and Huamantla 394

CHAPTER XXVI.

Alta California 405

CHAPTER XXVII.

Residence of the Americans in Mexico 415

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Mazatlan 425

CHAPTER XXIX.

Invasion of the Huasteca—action of the Calabozo 434

CHAPTER XXX.

Guerrilias 439

CHAPTER XXXI.

Tabasco 443

CHAPTER XXXII.

New Negotiations of Peace 445

Page

CHAPTER XXXIII.
Santa Cruz de Rosales 451

CHAPTER XXXIV.
Conclusion 456

Appendix 457

INTRODUCTION.

It is not our object in this Introduction, to place a fictitious value on our labors, nor still do we desire your censure. It is not our intention to write in this a discourse upon public evils, nor a dissertation upon the obstacles and utility which the history of contemporary events exhibits. Our aim is limited only to refer with sincerity to the manner in which these "*Notes*" were made, in order to place the reader in that suitable point of view where he may pass his opinion upon them, and consider them, with all the defects under which from their nature they must labor, and with all the advantages which the especial circumstance can confer.

At the close of last year, in Querétaro, we met various friends having the sole object to organize a select association. Conversation fell frequently upon the misfortunes of the country, we regretted the common evil, we discoursed according to our peculiarities and opinions upon its origin, and we differed in the relation of the battles in which some of us had participated. Secrets were alluded to in which we found others initiated without the injunction of silence upon them. Some of these were mentioned, and authenticated by those who told them. Important documents also were produced which they happened, from peculiar circumstances, to possess. The thought naturally occurred to us to arrange our recollections, to join together the data in our power, and to charge those concurring, indiscriminately, in the undertaking of this work.

Then the prevailing wish was to employ the time most profitably. But we were far distant from where to publish our writings, without any fixed plan and without the requisite union. The memoranda were in their simple state and not arranged. Each one had already impressed on what he had noted his peculiarity, his own thoughts, his own bright imaginations, his own recollections of patriotism and emotions, his own feelings, or most exclusive perceptions. To these were added his opinions, sometimes impartial, sometimes impassioned, according to his profession, his age, his character, and the place where the events had transpired.

The written papers excited warm debates, in which much freedom was indulged, but some articles were adopted, scarcely worth an insertion, from their being digressions or somewhat inconsistent, which now constitutes, if not the principal, at least one of the most obvious imperfections of this publication.

However, those who were strangers to our association observed, what encouraged us to proceed, that the truth of history had been respected to the utmost, that independence in our opinions sometimes appeared to be unrestrained liberty, and that malice had not contributed to distort the grave narration of events.

Thus encouraged, we enlarged our views with boldness, imprudent, we branched out our pretensions somewhat extensively, and the desire prevailing, to search for the truth, we proposed, after making some important alterations in our plans to publish under the title of "Notes" the compilation of our articles.

It was agreed and always observed, to intrust to one certain person the chapter which we pointed out. We all assisted in collecting the official papers, and the still larger quantity of particular facts. Afterwards the article was discussed in general, to perceive what had been omitted or what undoubtedly ought to be inserted. This being done, the criticism was renewed paragraph by paragraph, and in the event of a difference of opinion the majority decided.

To be the more assured of the truth and of the fairness of our writings, we desired to distribute the labor in such manner that the witnesses to particular facts should give their notes, and with them and other data another person should reduce the substance to proper form.

Moreover, it was agreed that the responsibility of the publication should be shared in common, so that we might all engage in an honest illustration of the events, and that no predilection should restrain any one or cause him to view some things as spurious and thus destroy our main design.

When the expense was mentioned, which the work would cost, we proposed to defray it among ourselves, without seeking or accepting any protection more than that of the public: for the historian, as a contemporary happily remarks, should write without passion and without pay. We did not apprehend a loss, but for the speculation, it was a secondary thought, and also one of the smallest importance. Because, however ample was the profit, divided, as it would be, among many, it could not compensate for the close attention, the moral responsibility, and the occasional dissatisfaction which our undertaking would call forth.

We wish one word more on the impartiality which we have desired may predominate throughout our "Notes." Among us, there are some who judge with severity the conduct of General Santa Anna, others who exclaim against the vices of the army, as well as individuals again who are extremely indulgent towards the one and towards the other. But in these cases when there was a contrariety of opinions, and it was difficult to decide with clearness upon a point, the truth of history has always been respected even by those who have thought more favorably of them. The same has been practised in regard to the generals and chiefs less conspicuous.

Finally, a committee was named to form a criticism, the most calm and judicious, on our "Notes" and to give them their proper disposition, arranging and correcting the articles consigned to their revision.

It remains only to manifest the most sincere gratitude to our fellow laborers and correspondents for the important and disinterested services which they have bestowed upon us.

In this manner we have framed our book of "Notes." The public may pass upon its merit.

THE EDITORS.

Mexico, August 11, 1848.

EDITORS.

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SCHIAFINO, DON FRANCISCO.
SEGURA, DON FRANCISCO.
TORRESCANO, DON PABLO MARÍA.
URQUIDI, DON FRANCISCO.

NOTES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE WAR

BETWEEN

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR.

To contemplate the state of degradation and ruin to which the mournful war with the United States has reduced the Republic, is painful. Nor is it pleasant to take a retrospective glance in the investigation of the causes which led to this complete overthrow. But without some explanation of the circumstances which brought on hostilities, our work would be imperfect, and would be wanting in clearness and in those acts which ought to be presented to the examination of the civilized world. It is to be hoped that the hard lesson which we have received will teach us to reform our conduct; oblige us to adopt the obvious precautions against its repetition; benefit us by being made acquainted with its bitter fruits; induce us not to forget the mistakes we have committed; and prepare us to stay the impending blows with which ambition and treachery threaten us. The Mexican Republic, to whom nature had been prodigal, and full of those elements which make a great and happy nation, had among other misfortunes of less account, the great one of being in the vicinity of a strong and energetic people. Emancipated from the parent country, yet wanting in that experience not to be acquired while the reins of her destiny were in foreign hands, and involved for many years in the whirlwind of never ending revolutions, the country offered an easy conquest to any who might desire to employ against her a respectable force. The disadvantage of her position could not be concealed from the keen sight of the United States, who watched for the favorable moment for their project. For a long time this was carried on secretly, and with caution, until in despair, tearing off the mask, they exposed the plans without disguise of their bold and overbearing policy.

To explain then in a few words the true origin of the war, it is sufficient to say that the insatiable ambition of the United States, favored by our weakness, caused it. But this assertion, however veracious and well founded, requires the confirmation which we will present, along with some former transactions, to the whole world. This evidence will leave no doubt of the correctness of our impressions.

In throwing off the yoke of the mother country, the United States of the North appeared at once as a powerful nation. This was the result of their excellent elementary principles of government established while in colonial subjection. The Republic announced at its birth, that it was called upon to represent an important part in the world of Columbus. Its rapid advancement, its progressive increase, its wonderful territory, the uninterrupted augmentation of its inhabitants, and the formidable power it had gradually acquired, were many proofs of its becoming a colossus, not only for the feeble nations of Spanish America, but even for the old populations of the ancient continent.

The United States did not hope for the assistance of time in their schemes of aggrandizement. From the days of their independence they adopted the project of extending their dominions, and since then, that line of policy has not deviated in the slightest degree. This conduct, nevertheless, was not perceptible to the most enlightened: but reflecting men, who examined events, were not slow in recognising it. Conde de Aranda, from whose perception the ends which the United States had resolved upon were not concealed, made use of some celebrated words. These we shall now produce as a prophecy verified by events. "This nation has been born a pigmy: in the time to come, it will be a giant, and even a colossus, very formidable in these vast regions. Its first step will be an appropriation of the Floridas to be master of the Gulf of Mexico."

The ambition of the North Americans has not been in conformity with this. They desired from the beginning to extend their dominion in such manner as to become the absolute owners of almost all this continent. In two ways they could accomplish their ruling passion: in one by bringing under their laws and authority all America to the Isthmus of Panama; in another, in opening an overland passage to the Pacific Ocean, and making good harbors to facilitate its navigation. By this plan, establishing in some way an easy communication of a few days between both oceans, no nation could compete with them. England herself might show her strength before yielding the field to her fortunate rival, and the mistress of the commercial world might for a while be delayed in touching the point of greatness to which she aspires.

In the short space of some three quarters of a century events have verified the existence of these schemes and their rapid development. The North American Republic has already absorbed territories pertaining to Great Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico. It has employed every means to accomplish this—purchase as well as usurpation, skill as well as force, and nothing has restrained it when treating of territorial acquisition. Louisiana, the Floridas, Oregon, and Texas, have successively fallen into its power. It now has secured the possession of the Californias, New Mexico, and a great part of other States and Territories of the Mexican Republic. Although we may desire to close our eyes with the assurance that these pretensions have now come to an end, and that we may enjoy peace and unmoved tranquillity for a long time, still the past history has an abundance of matter to teach us as yet existing, what has existed, the same schemes of conquest in the United States. The attempt has to be made, and we will see ourselves overwhelmed anew, sooner or later, in another or in more than one disastrous war, until the flag of the stars floats over the last span of territory which it so much covets.

These considerations are indeed mournful; but their certainty can be demonstrated with clearness in proportion to the attention given to their examination. We have observed the constant aim of our neighbor republic. We have fixed upon the period of its independence as a point of interest, after which, as a settled policy, it contemplated this vast dominion. But if we look back upon even earlier times, we will observe that the first settlers of the United States pursued the same ends, and that the descendants of Washington do no more than imitate the conduct of their forefathers.

In truth, subjects of the British throne, whom the religious and political convulsions of their country obliged to seek in distant climes the enjoyment of liberty of conscience and the tranquillity of a peaceful government, established themselves in the territories of North America. Here they did not hesitate to appropriate the possessions of the unhappy natives, that they might change the sickly plant into a vigorous tree with thick foliage and branches, and whose roots would shoot out to a great distance. Then, as now, every method was deemed equally fair; every resource adopted, from the legal purchase of lands, to the taking them by the total extermination of tribes. It is worth noting, however, that in their choice of expedients they preferred those which had the charm of violence. Few indeed followed in the footsteps of the venerable William Penn.

As the countries subject to the Spanish sovereignty bordered on the territory of the United States, the first shafts of this people were directed to them. After the war of 1779 and the conquests made in its prosecution by General Galvez, Spain acquired by virtue of the treaty of peace of 1783 the absolute property and possession of East and West Floridas to the left bank of the Mississippi. Before this the same nation had acquired part of Louisiana, that is, the island, with the city of New Orleans, by voluntary gift from France, in the year 1764, and now remained the acknowledged mistress of this country, which had been passing from hand to hand by prior concessions.

The able diplomacy of the administrations of the Union drew great advantages to their nation by the treaty of friendship, limits, and navigation, made in 1795 between Spain and the United States. The Americans gained about one degree in the whole distance of the dividing line which separated the Floridas from their territory. They acquired the most fertile lands in both Floridas, and also the rivers which fall from Georgia and Mississippi, the important point of Natchez, along with other strong places of great service for the defence of the frontier. These advantages were confirmed in the new convention made in 1802 between the same powers.

After this, that which the United States desired was the interesting acquisition of Louisiana. This province, of which Spain was in possession, as has been seen above, passed into the power of France in the year 1800, by the treaty of S. Ildefonso, signed by D. Mariano Luis de Urquijo and General Berthier. The object for which this was celebrated was to enrich in Italy the infant duke of Parma, to whom the French republic was obliged to give a certain amount of territory, with the title of king, and all the rights appertaining to the royal dignity. In exchange for this concession, his Catholic Majesty agreed, on his part, to cede back the province of Louisiana to the same extent as it was held while in the power of Spain, and as it had been held when France possessed it. This was to be arranged by treaties concluded subsequently between France and Spain.

By virtue of this ceding, Louisiana having returned to France, the American government soon had an understanding with that nation for its acquisition. Purchase was then the road adopted for the increase of territory. Before the corresponding negotiations Bonaparte, the first consul at the time, sold Louisiana to the United States for the sum of seventy millions of francs. Here it ought to be noted, as an interesting fact, that in the cession made by Spain to France it had not been thought to mark the limits of this province. Although they had been settled in the treaty of peace at Paris in 1763, this forgetfulness or neglect gave rise immediately to grave questions, instigated possibly by bad faith, but still which could be avoided by the useful precaution of marking the lines.

Another of the serious mistakes which Spain at this time committed was, without doubt, her not having it inserted that Louisiana should not be transferred for a certain period. Soon this power perceived the error, endeavored to remedy it, and imparted this declaration to the French minister. But Bonaparte, without caring for what had happened, proceeded to complete the sale with the United States. The Marquis of Casa Irujo, minister from Spain at Washington, protested against this act, and it had a favorable effect. Unfortunately, however, King Charles IV., whose weak policy was not that of opposition to this extraordinary man, already announced as the conqueror of Europe, was apprehensive the protest would incense Bonaparte in turn, and directed the minister to withdraw it.

The acquisition of Louisiana ought to be considered of immense importance to the United States: for by it their territory was doubled. This country, which, under the Spanish laws, was so far from producing any advantages, as to be actually both prejudicial and a burden, was converted into an inexhaustible fountain of riches, in their industrious and energetic hands. At the same time the other states of the Union were advancing. The benefits that resulted from the purchase of Louisiana extended their salutary influence, throughout the republic; and the elements of prosperity which it inclosed, unfolded themselves every day more rapidly in the gigantic increase of their power.

By a remarkable contrast, this acquisition was to us a disastrous event, in giving us a neighbor very little to be desired. It was only one step from Louisiana to Texas. The sale of this colony had broken a barrier that still restrained the torrent that soon would overflow Mexico.

The North Americans, intent on their plans of absorption, as soon as they saw themselves masters of Louisiana, spread their snares at once for the rest of the Floridas, and the province of Texas: both of which countries yet remained under the Spanish power. Then they called in requisition distinct tactics. Skill and open force supplied them with arms against a nation declining from the power and glory which had made it at one period the first in the world. At this time Spain was unable to defend her colonies beyond the sea; for she had to employ all her resources to repel from her soil the invasion of a stranger. In fact, the situation of Spain was very favorable for the ambitious views of the Republic of Washington. Rightly appreciating the terrible crisis through which she was passing, it sent agents, spies, and emissaries, to Mexico, Venezuela, Santa Fé, and other points, to collect facts and dates, and to open a road which would then facilitate its plans. Prior to this, frequent explorations had been made to obtain geographical information and statistics. The travels of Captains Pike, Lewis, and Clarke, had contributed much to it. With this knowledge, then, of all that had gone before, there was nothing at present wanting more than a fit opportunity. The invasion of the Peninsula by the French presented a favorable time.

Thus, without Spain having given any cause for complaint, in the midst of profound peace, and without a previous declaration of war, the American authorities prepared a revolt and their troops to march in 1810 into the district of Baton Rouge, and in 1812 into the district of Mobile, by using the same conduct which was afterwards observed in Texas. To extenuate the scandalous outrage which had been committed, the President declared that these territories belonged to them as integral parts of Louisiana. Here could be observed the consequences which were produced by there being no demarcation of limits. Usurpation followed soon after. General Jackson advanced to Pensacola, and in the meantime another body of troops penetrated into East Florida. Next followed the occupation of Amalia island; and then the taking of the forts of St. Marks and Barrancas. All these acts of hostility with a proneness to repeat them were committed against a nation with which they lived in peace. The evils which are inevitable in war, that in its very nature is a scourge to the human family, were aggravated by the cruelty which in these campaigns General Jackson inflicted on the unhappy natives.

A declaration of the legislative bodies preceded or followed the violent occupation with arms, and decided to sanction these acts by resolutions. Upon this principle an act of Congress incorporated into the dominion of North America, the district of Baton Rouge. The same Congress authorized the executive to strengthen with a sufficient force the Amalia Island, Mobile, and other places in West Florida; and this being done, by another certain act, it appropriated the territories even to the Rio Perdido.

While the North American government thus encroached slowly on the Floridas, it was not idle in regard to Texas; but simultaneously meditated its occupation, since already we have observed it to undertake both at once. Texas was bounded on the east by Louisiana, and the River Medina separated it from Coahuila, extending its territory to the Presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes. This province belonged to the crown of Spain, which possessed establishments there even in the sixteenth century, a little while after the conquest of the Mexican empire. Afterwards in the year 1689, Captain D. Alonso de Leon, who was then governor of

Coahuila, received an order from the viceroy, the Marquis of Monclova, to make a reconnoissance of the bay of Espiritu Santo, and the River Saint Marks which emptied into it. In 1690 D. Alonso took possession of the country, and founded the mission of San Francisco of Texas. The king of Spain, hearing of these things and knowing their importance, commanded, in a royal letter of the 12th November, 1692, that he would effect new discoveries and undertake the navigation of the River Codachos. New expeditions followed, which resulted in the establishments of La Purissima, Conception, San José, Maria Santisima Guadalupe, and others. In this way, without any opposition, and using the right which nations recognised in those times for the acquisition of countries, the monarchs of Spain made themselves masters of the whole province of Texas.

The interest would have been great which a far-seeing and able government could have drawn from so important a possession. The territory known by the name of Texas is found situated between the 28° and 35° of north latitude and the 17° and 25° of west longitude from Washington. Joining on the north the territory of Arkansas, on the east the state of Louisiana, on the south Tamaulipas and the Gulf of Mexico, it has on the west Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico. Texas has over the greater part of Mexico the advantage of inclosing within its borders, beautiful and navigable rivers, the only blessing wanting in almost all the other parts of our richly endowed country. Texas, by its fertility and riches, by its climate and position, possesses all the elements requisite for prosperity in agriculture, industry, commerce, and navigation.

The profit which would accrue from the possession of this land stimulated the United States to procure it at any price. But in spite of it, and without the necessity of new acquisitions, they held already in their territories more than two-thirds of their lands uncultivated, because they seemed to be somewhat ill-adapted for agriculture, from sterility, and the extreme and disagreeable temperature at all seasons. This innate propensity of the northern people, also, would scarcely be restrained in exchanging their bleak tracts for the smiling climes of the tropic.

When the North Americans were not altogether masters of Louisiana, bordering on Texas, a war existed between France and Spain in the Regency of the Duke of Orleans. The French attacked the mission of the Adaes, which community was transferred to San Antonio de Bèjar. The Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo retook the place of the Adaes; the inhabitants returned to their homes, and remained in peaceable possession. The Frenchman, La Salle, had planted before a temporary establishment in the Bay of San Bernardo, in 1685; but his quick disappearance did not give place to, nor did any one then consider this act as any important event.

It is a certain fact that Spain had been from the earliest day in the exclusive possession of the province of Texas. It had never struck any one that the limits of Louisiana could extend to this province: a pretext of which the North Americans availed themselves to continue their aggressions by asserting that Louisiana stretched to the Rio Bravo. Such an idea could only be founded in gratuitous suppositions. Therefore, it was evident that for France to sell to the United States this colony, no other rights could be transmitted than those which had been received from Spain. Now it is well known that the treaty made with this power had been for a simple retrocession. The signification of the word itself, as well as the expressed text of the article, took away all doubt on the subject. By the treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain ceded back Louisiana to France with the same limits which she had in her power, and with the same limits it possessed when France held it; to be regulated by subsequent treaties between Spain and other states. Neither at this time under the Spanish sovereignty, nor formerly when possessed by France, nor in subsequent treaties, had it ever been held that Louisiana extended as far as the United States wished afterwards to make it. Its lines had been fixed by the Treaty of Paris, and Mr. Clark himself describes its termination at Red River.

However, the scheme which the American government proposed was to found its pretensions on this supposition. Moreover, assisted by the facility with which its agents made their explorations and collected facts and dates, it began to claim as part of Louisiana the territory lying between the Mermenta and Sabine rivers. The commander of Texas committed an act of weakness in agreeing to an understanding in which it was stipulated that all this country should remain neutral and deserted by both powers. The conventional line ran between the Mermenta and Carcassieu rivers, followed the Arroyo Hondo, passed between the Adaes and Natchitoches, and ended in the Red River. It was called the contested or disputed ground, through the whole space comprehended between this conventional line and the left bank of the Sabine. From this convention it resulted, that in the year 1806, the United States ordered General Wilkinson to repel the Spanish force which, under the command of Governor Herrera, was now to the east of the Sabine. Intent on their purpose the Americans, in the following years, persisted in perpetrating new acts of aggression and hostility against the province of Texas.

In the year 1818, General Lallemand and other French emigrants occupied on the Trinity river, in the same province, a point called Campo de Asilo. Nevertheless, they remained only for a short time, in consequence of intimations from President Monroe inducing them to abandon it. Various American deputies also formed a Congress in Nacogdoches, in which they resolved to appropriate the province so often coveted.

D. Luis Onis, about the year 1809, was in the United States in the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Spain. As soon as he arrived he had endeavored earnestly to restrain these American usurpations, and to make a treaty which would at once end these pending questions between the two countries, about boundaries, indemnities, and other subjects. For many years his efforts to fulfil the object of his mission were unsuccessful. By perseverance to the end of the year 1819, he succeeded in having signed at Washington, with the distinguished American, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, the celebrated treaty of the 22d of February. The importance of this document requires that we should pause for a while to examine it. By Article 2d, his Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, in full possession and sovereignty, all the States which belonged to him situated to the east of the Mississippi, known by the names of West Florida and East Florida. By the 3d, the boundaries of both nations were designated, for which eason it seems proper to insert it entire in this place. It reads thus:—

> "The boundary line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or *Red River;* then following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then, crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source, in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea. The whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas river shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea: all the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters, and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.
>
> "The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by the said line; that is to say: the United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce for ever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic Majesty cedes to

the said United States, all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories for ever."

By this treaty the United States acquired the property in all the disputed territory, that is to say, that situated between Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine. But, as is seen in the last part of the article, they renounced all rights and pretensions over the territory which formerly they had claimed. Before this the injustice of their demands was manifest to every person. The right of Spain was clear and indisputable. Nevertheless, the United States used their erroneous ideas as a legal title to make new acquisitions. After the ratification of the treaty of Washington this could not be. The mutual giving up of pretensions fixed the boundaries of both powers. The terms of the convention established the standard to which both had to submit, in their operations for the future. Consequently, the United States bound their hands against claiming the territories situated on this side of the Sabine. For, in doing so, they would have to break a solemn treaty, destroy the bonds in which the rights of nations are secured, and destroy the relatious of communities, which constitute the great human family.

A short time after this regulation of differences between Spain and the Republic of Washington, Mexico consummated her independence from the old country, and succeeded, of course, into the full enjoyment of the corresponding rights, over the territories that were thereby emancipated from her dominion. The United States recognised our independence very soon after it was effected. In November, 1823, the Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Clay, presented to the North American Congress the subject of recognising Mexico as an independent and sovereign nation; and he made known the opinion entertained by the President. The subsequent conduct of Mr. Clay, worthy of lasting gratitude on our part, has not given the lie to this favorable antecedent. The Houses approved of the proposition of the President; and it may be mentioned that this resolution passed almost unanimously. The only exception was in one representative, Mr. Randolph, who opposed the recognition, breaking forth upon us with his insults and sarcasms, which afterwards so many of his countrymen bestowed in the same profusion.

The beginning of our relations with this neighboring nation was thus favorable in its commencement. It was agreed to bind them more closely by sending envoys; and in 1824, D. Pablo Obregon was accredited to the United States in the character of Minister Plenipotentiary. On the other side, this Republic sent to Mexico, early in the next year, Mr. J. R. Poinsett, who has left among us an unfortunate celebrity. This public functionary came for the principal object of concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce, which would enlarge the relations springing up between the two countries. The Mexican government entered into a correspondence with Poinsett in 1826, on the subject of the treaty of limits made with D. Luis Onis, and there ought to have terminated this business that remained open through the indifference and delay with which it was carried on.

The negotiations being soon renewed, and the difficulties that presented themselves being overcome, the end was accomplished. On the 12th of January, 1828, they ratified in Mexico the treaty made in Washington on the 22d February, 1819. The ratifications were respectively interchanged on the 5th of April, 1831, being then a finished affair.

This agreement bound the new contracting parties as firmly as the old. But the United States would not recede one inch from their ancient and supported system. They would not take their eyes from off the productive lands they coveted. They thought already of the means to obtain them, and extended the circuit of their own people at the very time they recognised these first as belonging to a friendly nation. Yet deceitful in their conduct, they appeared the more willing to secure with Mexico relations the most pacific and cordial. On the other side we did as much with greater good faith, and in observance of the treaty of the 5th of April, 1831. After the death of Obregon, D. Manuel Montoya, secretary of the legation, remained charged with the affairs, and in October, 1828, D. José Maria Tornel was named minister plenipotentiary. On the part of the United States, Butler succeeded Poinsett.

The agents of that Republic had contemplated before this time the acquisition of Texas, by the sale of its lands, and had most eagerly proposed it without ceasing, first in 1826, and soon after in 1827. The new minister, Mr. Butler, announced also that he desired to negotiate another treaty of boundaries, an overture which the government opposed. Thus the Americans in this undisguised manner obtaining nothing, adopted another more effectual. When our sad intestine revolutions had already weakened us, when one of our pronunciamentos overturned the federal system, the inimical hand was prepared to give us the blow. They availed themselves of this opportunity to revolutionize the state of Texas. Its population, composed of emigrants, was beforehand prepared for the movement.

While the province of Texas remained in the power of the Spaniards, the excessive prudence and vigilance of the government opposed a strong barrier to the pretensions of the Americans. It is true they had already some of their establishments in the deserts bathed by the rivers San Jacinto, Brazos, and Nueces. But with very few exceptions, it observed strictly the policy of not permitting the introduction of strangers, and above all, the stationing of troops on the frontier commanded by military chiefs. With despotic and unlimited power, an increase of emigration had not taken place. A short time before the independence of Mexico, in the year 1819, the Spanish government granted to Moses Austin the requisite authority to form a colony in Texas. This concession was owing principally to the zeal that animated the King of Spain for the dissemination and protection of the Catholic religion. Moses Austin had represented his sect as disheartened and dispersed, and begged that these lands might be given to him as an asylum, where the immigrants could and would enter for the exercise of their faith.

Stephen Austin, the son and heir of Moses, continued the work commenced by his father, and made a beginning of a vast enterprise by colonizing, in 1820, between the Brasos and Colorado rivers. The emancipation of our Republic opened a wide door to immigration. They received with open arms the strangers who touched our soil. But the political inexperience of our national governors converted into a fountain of evils a benevolent and purely Christian principle. Immigration, which ought to have equalized the laborious arms to agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, finally resulted in the separation of one of the most important states. It was this which involved us soon in actual, disastrous war.

However, at the commencement, some dispositions were made, which if observed, perhaps, might have obviated the evil. The law was prohibitory of strangers, limiting colonization to those states and territories of the Republic which joined with their people. But very soon this precept was broken, and instead of employing precautions, accounted a wise policy, they changed from one error to another, without perceiving the impending consequences of such proceedings. The legislature of Coahuila, which was also at the time that of Texas, both provinces being united into one state, enacted on the 24th of March, 1825, a law of colonization, in which it was decreed, "That all strangers who, in virtue of the general law of the 18th August, 1824, desired to establish themselves on the lands of the State of Coahuila y Texas, were free to do so; and it desired them by this law to consummate it."

The inhabitants of the United States promptly accepted this invitation, when they perceived the road to prosperity by means of their establishment on the lands ceded to them. They were rejoiced at this, and enjoyed it along with other advantages not to be overlooked. In giving away these lands, so far were they from remuneration of any kind, that they stipulated concessions to the colonies, exempting them for ten years from the payment of taxes. Thus with this and other privileges they were freed, by their great distance, from the centre of the troubles and evils to which the other states were victims. These new neighbors of Texas met in an excellent position, and their prosperity brought consequently other emigrants. These, with few exceptions, were natives of the United States, and preserved in their new country some manners and customs of living entirely similar to those of their fellow-countrymen. United to Mexico by a tie extremely weak, constituting in the whole of the Republic a heterogeneous mass, in habits, language, and character, and in all parts different, their sympathies were directed towards their own country. The least informed could predict from thence, that, sooner or later, they would prefer a union with their native land to the dependence in which they lived on the Mexican authorities. The colonies of Texas were never subject to our laws. The abolition of slavery decided them to make this known long before the fall of the federal system placed in their hands a banner under whose shade they concealed the views of separation, which by every means they had now brought to a head. We have mentioned that the first colonies were established in Texas under the authority of a monarchical government. If afterwards Mexico became independent, and adopted the federative system, this was a fact which they could never allege to justify their rebellion, on the supposition that it did not import under it a condition that the Texans had consented to live subject to our laws. Did they by the change possess the right to emancipate those who had been admitted to the lands under the obligation to live as subjects of an absolute monarch? Where does it stand that obedience to which they had sworn was only limited to the time that one form of government lasted, which by accident was established, when now the years had passed which had given the beginning to colonization?

We do not further carry out these inductions, nor enter into the question so due to justice, which in our mind we have on our side by every reason to oppose to the independence of Texas. Not to enlarge so much on this as we should have to do, were we especially charged with this subject, is owing to the fact, that after a certain point it is of secondary importance, or rather foreign to enter into an examination of the wrong which was done to us on the part of Texas. The object which we aim at is to show that the United States intended to obtain this territory at any price; and to accomplish it, introduced there her citizens, taking care to increase the population. Whereby, already in the year 1829, they counted 20,000 inhabitants in that part where formerly they only had 3,000. Their minds were prepared gradually to embrace the first opportunity that might offer to strike the blow. We repeat that we are of the firm belief, and a belief strengthened by events, that the independence of Texas would undoubtedly have been effected, even if the federal form of government had not been forcibly overturned. It was impossible that this State, at the time it severed the links of union with Mexico, abounding, as it did, in the elements of dissolution, should have remained much longer without breaking the compact under which it existed. If this be so, is it not true that it would be useless to dwell upon the reasons given to palliate its ingratitude, which paid with injuries without number, the benefits bestowed by a hand, inexperienced, if you wish, but still, undoubtedly, generous?

The Republic could not remain indifferent to the cry of a rebellion raised within her borders. It endeavored to have order restored in the department in a state of revolt, trying in the first place the conciliatory method of agreement. It proposed to the colonies new advantages, and franchises; among others, that of being exempt for another period of ten years from paying taxes. When it was seen only that every peaceable proposition was discarded, it was decided to declare war, and subject, by actual force, those who were not willing to hear any other argument than the roar of the cannon.

The army marched upon Texas; General Santa Anna placed himself at its head; and the campaign opened under the most favorable circumstances.

The Texans, on their side, prepared to make a vigorous resistance. To sustain it they counted on effectual aid from the United States, which gave protection to them,—covert, indeed, but still decided and constant. Supplies for the war, arms, men, and whatever was requisite, left the most populous cities of the Union to assist the cause of the Texans, while it protested that it observed the most strict neutrality. The whole world witnessed the conduct pursued by the American government, which could do no less than discover the plans which it proposed.

Naturally, these occurrences irritated the relations between both powers, and disturbed the good harmony existing. An explanation was particularly sought, an explanation required for these offensive proceedings, and it was endeavored to procure an observance of rights under the laws of nations. On this mission, D. Emanuel Eduardo Gorostiza was sent to Washington as Envoy Extraordinary of the Republic. The appropriate demands being made, the American cabinet denied that its intentions were hostile in regard to Mexico. It gave assurances that it had guarded, and would keep guarded, the most complete neutrality, and manifested that upon what it was decided, was to defend the menaced frontier, and to require that the integrity of its territory should be most absolutely respected.

While they carried on in Washington these diplomatic disputes, the war continued in Texas, where the Mexican army obtained triumphs constantly until the battle of San Jacinto. In that a defeat was suffered which no one anticipated. Unfortunately for us, acts of cruelty were perpetrated in this campaign not deserving extenuation, such as that of Fanning, the Refugio, and others. But the national censure which fell on their authors proved that they had been viewed with disgust. The responsibility ought to be borne exclusively by those who committed them. Other acts of clemency and humanity frequently repeated in this war and afterwards, exonerate us from the charge which has been made of barbarity and wickedness.

The United States, always giving out that they had no other object than to defend their threatened frontier, had sent a considerable force, under the orders of General Gaines, to the banks of the Sabine. They authorized him, if necessary, to advance to Nacogdoches, a place situated many leagues on this side of that river, and embraced, without any doubt, within the territory recognised as the Mexican. Events proved that this body of troops was observing the movements and advance of our army, and its general was inclined to move forward or delay doing so, according to the state of the war. But the authority they had given imported an act of aggression upon the Mexican Republic. Our envoy could not see it himself with indifference. Therefore, he made the suitable reclamations upon the subject, and undertook with Forsyth and Dickins, Secretaries of State of the American Government, an energetic correspondence, in which he sustained, with clearness, the rights of the nation he represented. All these efforts, however, were idle. They were evasive in their answers, which did nothing more than embroil the business, without attending to the complaints of Gorostiza. Sometimes they said that the river known by every person to be the Sabine was not *the* Sabine, and that the true Sabine was the Neches. At others they sustained themselves under the pretext of fulfilling the treaty with Mexico, by protecting its territory from the Indians of the United States. The troops, by this, might be sent into the heart itself of Mexico. Again, they doubted if our Republic was in possession of the Texan territory, in the very face of the expressed articles of the treaty which left no doubt upon this point. Finally, the United States, availing themselves of some finesse which their astute policy suggested, permitted time to glide away, and our minister saw with regret that nothing favorable would be obtained from his repeated remonstrances.

Moreover, for the most part there was in the conduct of the Secretary of State a want of frankness and good faith with which he ought to have acted. Gorostiza received frequent notice that General Gaines was disposed to use the authority given to him, and communication upon the back of communication passed to avoid this inexcusable aggression. In answer to his notes they assured him on the 12th July, 1836, that they had nothing certain respecting the movement of General Gaines, and on the very 11th, that is, the evening before, they had repeated to him the authority to advance to Natchitoches. Such order was inconsistent with the protestations made at each step by the United States. It was inconsistent with the letter directed by the President on the 6th of August of the same year to the Governor of Tennessee, in which he inculcated the obligation they were under to observe a strict neutrality.

The event so often announced at last happened. The occupation of Natchitoches by the troops of General Gaines consummated the violence to the Mexican territory. Thus in a time of peace between the two nations: when the North Americans proclaimed neutrality; when Mexico had given no offence; they penetrated into her territory armed, occupied her places, and took against her an imposing and inimical attitude. To excuse this conduct the United States advanced nothing more substantial than that Mexico could not restrain the Indians on her territory from making hostile incursions against their citizens. This principle conflicted with the rules established for the regulation of international rights. According to these one people cannot take military possession of the territory of another under the plea of defending a frontier.

Conceding some weight to this excuse, and supposing it to be correct, it will not still serve their purpose to justify this unlawful proceeding, being without foundation in point of fact. The hostilities of the Indians had been suppressed; the frontiers of the United States ran no risk; the danger which they asserted was imminent and inevitable, only existed in the gratuitous suppositions and calculations of their Governors.

The wickedness being now discovered with which they proceeded, it would have been criminal to contemplate with indifference the contempt with which they treated us. Our minister then acted with the dignity and firmness which his high character required. He demanded his passports, and returned to Mexico, thus terminating his mission. Next after this appeared the breaking out of hostilities, and the differences between the two nations assumed an alarming aspect. When Gorostiza retired from the United States, their minister, who was Mr. Powhattan Ellis, made the most strenuous appeals upon the subject of the broken faith of his fellow countrymen. Some answers being exchanged between this gentleman and our minister of foreign relations, Mr. Powhattan Ellis also asked for his passports, and retired without giving the explanation which his government had offered to send for its conduct upon the passage of the Sabine.

The question of justice then only remained, and no doubt was entertained that forthwith we ought to declare war against the neighboring Republic. This was not done nevertheless, from the urgent reasons of the incalculable evils which would flow from an open contest with a powerful nation. We were disposed to let the cloud blow over; and even subsequently, when new causes of complaint were frequently received. Among these may be stated as the principal, the unwarrantable affair of the taking of Monterey in California, by Commodore Jones, which was passed over so as not to interrupt the peace subsisting. Moreover, the means were sought for to give to the United States the guarantees and indemnities which they had in turn demanded.

A convention was agreed upon on the 11th of April, 1839, between Mexico and the United States, in pursuance of which a commission was appointed and charged with the examination of these claims. They amounted to the large sum of $6,291,605, of which the commission admitted and acknowledged $2,026,140; an item of $928,628, which the American Commissioner requested, was disputed by Mexico, and the remaining $3,334,837 was not examined. Subsequently, on the 30th of January, 1843, new terms were granted to our government for the payment of the sum admitted, stipulating that it would be satisfactory in the place of five years, twenty equal bonds, delivered every three months. The Republic made considerable efforts to liquidate this debt; the depressed state of the national revenues required that recourse must be had to methods the most odious; going to the extreme of imposing a forced loan, which was viewed as an obligation that could not be repaid. This might have been effected, no doubt, by continuing to have had the corresponding disbursements, as succeeded with the first, if the disputes each time more threatening, which were soon excited, had not given an entirely hostile character to the relations between the two Republics.

For the payment of the claims which were still pending, a third agreement, made on the 20th November, 1843, between Waddy Thompson, Bocanegra, and Trigueros, arranged. Being ratified, though with some modifications, by the Senate of the United States, it awaited the action of the Mexican government, and ran soon the course of the other subjects not ended, when war sounded.

The principal powers of Europe had now acknowledged the independence of Texas. The United States had done the same, in spite of the strong reasons advanced by President Jackson in his annual message, in 1836. Then, it was desired, or seemed so at least, to carry delicacy so far that it would be offensive to entertain the simple suspicion that the independence would be recognised as a step to the subsequent acquisition of this territory by annexation. Afterwards these scruples were dissipated. The independence of the revolted Department was recognised. Soon annexation took place.

On the 12th April, 1844, the President of the United States made a treaty with Texas relative to the incorporation of that country into the Union. This treaty was not ratified by the Senate; the usurpation remained for the present suspended, which was soon, however, effected in a new way. But the step which had been taken in this business was sufficient to do Mexico a new wrong. There might have been noticed at this period some preparations that indicated a sincere wish to carry on the war with Texas, which had for some time past been nothing more in the mouths of our Governors than an excuse for extortion on our unhappy people. The American Minister, Mr. Shannon, whether from his really believing that the war was positively to be undertaken, or because a pretext was sought to compel Mexico to declare hostilities against the United States, and to make us appear as aggressors, transmitted an official note. In it he made known in the name of his government, that its policy had always been directed to the incorporation of Texas into the American Union, and the invasion which was proposed by Mexico against that Department would now be deemed an offence to the United States.

In this celebrated communication, which will disgrace for ever the diplomatist who subscribed it, a protest was entered against a war with Texas, while the project of annexation was pending. Here the confession had been made, important for us, that the scheme to obtain this part of our territory had been invariably pursued by all parties, and nearly all the administrations of the Republic of North America, for the space of twenty years. The facts which we have mentioned, with others, passed in silence, being less interesting, and, for the sake of brevity, prove by good evidence that this plan existed, and was of longer standing than had been said. But the explicit avowal of the Minister Shannon, not denied nor contradicted by the authorities of his country—this avowal, we say, is of the greatest importance, coming from the very mouths of the usurpers who style themselves the most honest before all civilized nations.

Again, Mexico ought at this time to have broken completely with her deceitful neighbor, and made war wherever her forces would have permitted. Temporizing, however, throughout, our government, in conformity with the justice on which it is founded and guided, hoped that the American Senate would decide upon the project of annexation. As the decision of this body had then been favorable, it continued an intercourse disturbed at present, but still existing, between our Republic and the one at Washington. The most that was done was to protest that annexation would be considered as a declaration of war, for it would come to this extremity if it should thereby heap upon us contempt and degradation.

At this time, more properly than before, it would have been exact justice to have immediately made war on a power that so rashly appropriated what by every title belonged to us. This necessity had increased to a point, that the administrations which had successively been intrusted with our affairs, upon consideration, had all agreed in the principle, that a decree of annexation should be viewed as a *casus belli*—a cause of war. But while this new injury was being suffered, without deciding anything, but keeping diplomatic relations suspended between both countries, our minister, General Almonte, retired from Washington, and the one from the United States did the same from Mexico.

At the close of the year 1844, a new revolution having overturned the government of General Santa Anna, intrusted in the interim to General Canaliso, elevated to power D. José Joaquin de Herrera, the President of the Council. The famous decree of the 29th of November of that year had ended in disgracing the public officers who had framed it. It had established an unlimited dictatorship, and the war with Texas was, as it had been at other times, the gloss of justice with which they tried to conceal the attack directed against the constitution. A majority of the people distrusted the sincerity of the government, recollecting that the national and indispensable war which they ought to have made in that separate Department had not been preferred to Yucatan, which, without any beneficial result, had been the sacrifice of so many men and so much money. The wish, with rare exceptions, which they expressed, in truth, was for a continuance of the entire power in the hands of General Santa Anna, and this opinion spread through the Republic. In consequence the people, who detested the oppression, rose against it, overturned it, and gave a triumph to the party known afterwards by the name of the Decembristas.

The policy which this party pursued differed entirely from that observed by the former administrations. They acted upon the principle, in the firm belief that the Department of Texas had from the year 1830 been lost for ever; from which it was madness to suppose that our victorious eagles could be borne to the other side of the Sabine. They therefore decided on negotiation, and war on no account: for we were wanting in essentials the most indispensable. If the business were managed with able diplomacy, it was thought they might succeed in deriving advantages by no means contemptible; but to proceed by the other way they could anticipate only misfortunes and calamities. The cardinal idea which prevailed in the minds of the government of December, was that by all means the independence of Texas was preferable to annexation with the United States. By the first plan a third nation was placed between us and the aggressor, and would raise up a barrier that would restrain, at least for some time, the irruption with which we were threatened. By the second, it resulted in the loss of all hope of salvation: for if we remained upon the borders of a territory that our ambitious neighbors considered already their own, at last we would see ourselves involved step by step in a war for which we were not prepared.

The cry of the parties was raised furiously against the policy adopted; imputations of weakness, treachery, treason, blighted the fame of the rulers, and a clamor was heard for war, declaring it to be the only salvation of the national honor. Among the opposition there were men of the purest patriotism, and others who were guided by the most contracted views and sordid interests. Endearing hopes then animated many Mexicans; the bandage had not yet fallen from their eyes, and they were willing to destroy the hand that undeceived them. Now it is too late to remedy the evil; now the events have occurred, the misfortunes happened, and when they have placed things in their true light it is the time only that the wisdom and foresight are perceived of the policy of General Herrera's administration.

Notwithstanding the public clamor raised in opposition, it persisted with firmness in the path proposed to be taken. To the end to open negotiations relating to this object, they formally asked and Congress passed a decree on the 17th May, 1845, conceding authority to it to hear the propositions which Texas had made, and to arrange or conclude a treaty which should be suitable and honorable to the Republic. The propositions presented were the four following: 1st. The independence of Texas was recognised. 2d. Texas agreed not to annex or subject herself to any other country. 3d. Limits and conditions were reserved for a final treaty. 4th. Texas was ready to submit the points in dispute about territories and other subjects to the decision of arbitrators.

By virtue of the authority granted, our Minister of Relations received the four articles expressed, with preliminaries of a formal and definitive treaty, and intimated that he was disposed to commence negotiations, as Texas desired it, and to receive the Commissioner or Commissioners who might be named for that purpose. In a separate note he made the additional declaration, that besides the points proposed, he had others, essential and important, which ought to be also an object of the negotiations; and in case these were frustrated, or if Texas consented directly or indirectly to annexation with the United States, the answer given should be considered as null and void.

These preliminaries caused the belief that it would not be difficult to obtain a satisfactory arrangement. But the subsequent conduct of Texas finally resolved itself into annexation with the American Union. Whether it was owing to a breaking with this nation or because an arrangement was incompatible with the motions and revolutions it had against the government of the Decembristas, the negotiations were suspended, and soon this interesting question was left to the fate of arms.

On the 13th of October, 1845, Mr. Black, the Consul of the United States, transmitted a reserved letter to D. Manuel de la Peña y Peña, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, copying part of a letter of the Secretary of State of his nation. In this it was proposed that an Envoy, clothed with full power to arrange all controverted questions between the two governments, should be received. The Mexican agreed, requiring, as a condition precedent, that the naval force should withdraw which was off Vera Cruz, and by offering to receive a Commissioner to arrange in a pacific, reasonable, and proper mode *the pending dispute.*

Thus began anew the negotiations in December, 1845, and the Minister, Mr. John Slidell, presented himself in Mexico. But immediately this difficulty arose, that his government desired him to be received as a Minister Plenipotentiary, ordinary or general, and ours would only admit him as a Commissioner *ad hoc* for the question of Texas. The settled opinion of the government council of the 16th December of that year made known with clearness the difference between the two characters. By admitting Mr. Slidell as a common envoy, it resulted that, at the time of arranging the questions of Texas, he might occupy himself with other subjects proper for a Plenipotentiary who exercised his functions near a government with which there were only peaceful relations. By admitting Mr. Slidell as he wished, it resulted also that, without Mexico receiving the satisfaction due to her, diplomatic negotiations would become re-established between both powers; that the business of annexation would be complicated with the pecuniary reclamations; that Mexico would withdraw her hand from making war, and the United States would follow up all the consequent advantages to her commerce and interests.

This opinion, concluded upon in a cabinet council, was that the agreement to admit a Plenipotentiary of the United States, with special powers to treat upon the subject of Texas, did not oblige Mexico to receive an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, charged to reside near the government; and in which character Mr. Slidell came, according to his credentials. In conformity with these principles, the administration of General Herrera made them known to the envoy, and refused to receive him. Mr. Slidell insisted on being received on the terms which his government offered, but ours returned a decided negative.

The year 1846 witnessed at its commencement new rulers figuring in the political drama, having been elevated to power by another revolution. General Paredes pronounced in San Luis against Herrera. A few days were sufficient for this shameful revolution to become a triumph the most complete. Then Mr. Slidell renewed his suit, in considering that, although the old had been terminated by a refusal, still, as the business now went into new hands to be transacted, it was a favorable opportunity to see if he should meet in them a better disposition. The matter again underwent a revision in the council of the government, which repeated the reasons on which the former had been based, concluding with a renewal of the declaration that it could not admit Mr. Slidell further than Plenipotentiary *ad hoc* for the question of Texas. The government made this known to the Envoy, who now could do no more than ask for his passports, and withdraw from the Republic.

General Paredes, on the 21st of March of the same year, declared that peace not being compatible with the maintenance of the rights and independence of the nation, he should defend its territory, while the national Congress would undertake to declare war against the United States. The Congress did not go that far; but, in conformity with it, the decree of the 6th of July was passed. By it the government was authorized to use the natural defences of the country to repel aggression committed against many of the departments, and to make known to friendly nations the justifiable causes which obliged it to defend its rights by repelling force by force.

While the United States seemed to be animated by a sincere desire not to break the peace, their acts of hostility manifested very evidently what were their true intentions. Their ships infested our coasts; their troops continued advancing upon our territory, situated at places which under no aspect could be disputed. Thus violence and insult were united: thus at the very time they usurped part of our territory, they offered to us the hand of treachery, to have soon the audacity to say that our obstinacy and arrogance were the real causes of the war.

To explain the occupation of the Mexican territory by the troops of General Taylor, the strange idea occurred to the United States that the limits of Texas extended to the Rio Bravo del Norte. This opinion was predicated upon two distinct principles: one, that the Congress of Texas had so declared it in December, in 1836; and another, that the river mentioned had been the natural line of Louisiana. To state these reasons is equivalent at once to deciding the matter; for no one could defend such palpable absurdities. The first, which this government prizing its intelligence and civilization, supported with refined malice, would have been ridiculous in the mouth of a child. Whom could it convince that the declaration of the Texas Congress bore a legal title for the acquisition of the lands which it appropriated to itself with so little hesitation? If such a principle were recognised, we ought to be very grateful to these gentlemen senators who had the kindness to be satisfied with so little. Why not declare the limits of the rebel state extended to San Luis, to the capital, to our frontier with Guatemala?

The question is so clear in itself that it would only obscure by delaying to examine it further. We pass then to the other less nonsensical than the former. In the first place to pretend that the limits of Louisiana came to the Rio Bravo, it was essential to confound this province with Texas, which never can be tolerated. In the beginning of this article we have already shown the ancient and peaceable possession of Spain over the lands of the latter. Again, this same province, and afterwards State of Texas, never had extended its territory to the Rio Bravo, being only to the Nueces, in which always had been established the boundary. Lastly, a large part of the territory situated on the other side of the Bravo, belonged, without dispute or doubt, to other states of the Republic—to New Mexico, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

Then, after so many and such plain proceedings, is there one impartial man who would not consider the forcible occupation of our territory by the North American arms a shameful usurpation? Then further, this power desired to carry to the extreme the sneer and the jest. When the question had resolved itself into one of force which is the *ultima ratio* of nations as well as of kings, when it had spread desolation and despair in our populations, when many of our citizens had perished in the contest, the bloody hand of our treacherous neighbors was turned to present the olive of peace. The Secretary of State, Mr. Buchanan, on the 27th of July, 1846, proposed anew, the admission of an Envoy to open negotiations which might lead to the concluding of an honorable peace. The national government answered that it could not decide, and left it to Congress to express its opinion of the subject. Soon to follow up closely the same system of policy, they ordered a commissioner with the army, which invaded us from the east, to cause it to be understood that peace would be made when our opposition ceased. Whom did they hope to deceive with such false appearances? Does not the series of acts which we have mentioned speak louder than this hypocritical language? By that test then, as a question of justice, no one who examines it in good faith can deny our indisputable rights. Among the citizens themselves, of the nation which has made war on us, there have been many who defended the cause of the Mexican Republic. These impartial defenders have not been obscure men, but men of the highest distinction. Mexico has counted on the assistance, ineffectual, unfortunately, but generous and illustrious, of a Clay, an Adams, a Webster, a Gallatin; that is to say, on the noblest men, the most appreciated for their virtues, for their talents, and for their services. Their conduct deserves our thanks, and the authors of this work have a true pleasure in paying, in this place, the sincere homage of their gratitude.

Such are the events that abandoned us to a calamitous war; and, in the relation of which, we have endeavored not to distort even a line of the private data consulted, to prove, on every occasion, all and each of our assertions.

From the acts referred to, it has been demonstrated to the very senses, that the real and effective cause of this war that afflicted us was the spirit of aggrandizement of the United States of the North, availing itself of its power to conquer us. Impartial history will some day illustrate for ever the conduct observed by this Republic against all laws, divine and human, in an age that is called one of light, and which is, notwithstanding, the same as the former—one of *force and violence.*

GENERAL ARISTA

Ackermann's lith 120 Fulton St N.Y.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES—PALO ALTO—THE RESACA—RETREAT OF THE ARMY TO LINARES.

As soon as the government of the United States decided to consummate its unjust projects against the Mexican Republic, it determined to unite a force to sustain them. A considerable division under the orders of General Taylor, then a Brigadier General, encamped at Corpus Christi, June, 1845, in observation of our operations, and ready to advance to the Rio Bravo del Norte when ordered.

Since the unfortunate campaign of Texas, in the year 1836, a part of our army had been constantly on the frontier, more or less strong, which had fought at different times in the past years, with the Texans and adventurers who defended a cause as unjust as fortunate. These valiant soldiers occupied in this honorable enterprise, remained there almost abandoned by the carelessness of our Governors. They were separated from their families and relations, deserted constantly in our repeated pronunciamentos, and they felt sensibly themselves forgotten, while promotions and civil offices were distributed among those who had no title except favoritism, corruption, or notoriety in contests engendered by civil discord. The Government of General Herrera knew that peace would be broken between the two Republics, which ought to be brothers, and therefore ordered reinforcements to the army of the North, so that on our part we might have those preparations the most indispensable, for a war now certain to take place. It was not on this occasion, with a rebel Department, favored secretly by a treacherous neighbor, but with a powerful nation, whose elements of prosperity contrasted with the decayed state to which our madness and inexperience had reduced our dear country.

The reinforcements mentioned, consisted principally at this time, in two choice divisions, commanded by the Generals of division D. Vincente Filisola, and D. Mariano Paredes y Arrilla. The first marched from San Luis for Matamoros; but the hidden hand which framed already a new revolution, and which soon sacrificed the glory of the Republic to vile interests, instigated the shameful movement of Peñasco. This resulted in the separation of the command of the honorable General Filisola, and left the frontier unguarded from the want of that aid, ordered by the Government, and detained by the revolutionists. The weakness of the Government, which passed over this act without punishment, animated its authors to pursue their machinations; and therefore this subversive event may be considered as the fountain of many evils afterwards.

At the same time the danger hourly increased. Everything announced the close shock of the armies. The Government sent new orders to Paredes to march, carrying with him the division intrusted to his charge. But this General, seconded by some men as infamous as himself, instead of performing his duty and what his country required, rebelled openly against the Government and its institutions, proclaimed a system of anarchy, and directed his course to Mexico to secure a triumph in his revolution. Patriotism explained his conduct, in saying, that he had turned his back upon the foreign enemy to have civil discord reign, and to introduce a new element of confusion with the support of the monarchical party. This accusation so often reiterated, will be made by the complaining voice of a nation sacrificed, and will also be repeated by posterity. The treacherous pronunciamento of San Luis gave to General Paredes a fatal celebrity.

Meanwhile the troops destined for the frontiers returned to the capital, and while the diminished army of the North complained that they were abandoned by their own forces, the troops of the enemy under General Taylor received on the 15th of January, 1846, orders from their Government to advance, and indicating the convenience it would be to occupy the place known as the Fort of Saint Isabel.*

Within two months from the receipt of this order regulating the march, it was executed. The enemy's army moved by the road of the Arroyo Colorado in the direction of Matamoros, where had been united all the troops which formed our force. The whole reserve upon this vast frontier did not exceed 80 men, to 1 of cavalry, at Saltillo.† When the advance was understood, General Mejía, who commanded at the pass, despatched the commander of a squadron, Barragan, with a small party of cavalry in observation of the Americans. As the instructions of this General prohibited him committing acts of hostility, and as he was moreover short in numbers, he did nothing more than come up with them, retiring as Taylor's troops advanced.

The notice of the enemy's coming was not long in reaching the Fort. The worthy inhabitants of this very small population could not resign themselves to the disconsolate idea of living under a foreign yoke. They preferred destroying their little property, and to go in search of favor and protection in the arms of their brothers. They left the place where their children had been born, where their fathers had died, and they set fire to their habitations, moved by a patriotism worthy of all admiration. How glorious it would have been for the beautiful cities of the Republic which fell into the power of the North Americans, to have imitated the heroic and sublime example of the humble village of the Fort!

The enemy occupied this point, and put themselves immediately in communication with their fleet. Leaving there a small detachment, hastily throwing up some fortifications, and following on, they continued their movement towards Matamoros, in front of which city they arrived on the 28th of March.

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* In the text this place is called *Fronton de Santa Isabel.* A fronton is not strictly speaking a fort, but rather a point where a defence can be made with the assistance of the light works thrown up.—AMERICAN ED.

† "Mas que ochenta hombres del 1 de caballero en el Saltillo."

Matamoros is situated on the west bank of the Rio Bravo, in a vast plain, composed of wooden and brick houses, fourteen leagues distant from the coast. The proximity of the enemy indicated that they would little hesitate to attack a place presenting such important difficulties to its defenders. Open on all sides, except that where the river flowed, little resistance could be made towards the interior, and what increased the danger was that the fortifications which had existed were reduced now to a small redoubt. This had been constructed to the west of the city, and at some 600 yards distant from it, upon the bank of the river at the ford called the Anacuitas. When the danger approached very close another redoubt, but even less than the other, was raised at el Paso Real. At 200 yards in the same direction followed a breastwork whose fire commanded the other points. Under the direction of D^a Rita Giron, a battery was made between the two redoubts in a small grove. Time was urgent, and the circumstances required a hasty finishing of these works, which were soon in a condition to serve, thanks to the energy and efficacy of Colonel Carasco, who had charge of them.

To sustain the attack, they could not count on a sufficient force. The garrison was composed in the beginning of the battalion of Sappers, the 2d light, the 1st and 10th infantry regiments of the line, and the 7th of cavalry, the auxiliaries of the towns of the North, several companies of Presidiales,* and a battalion of the

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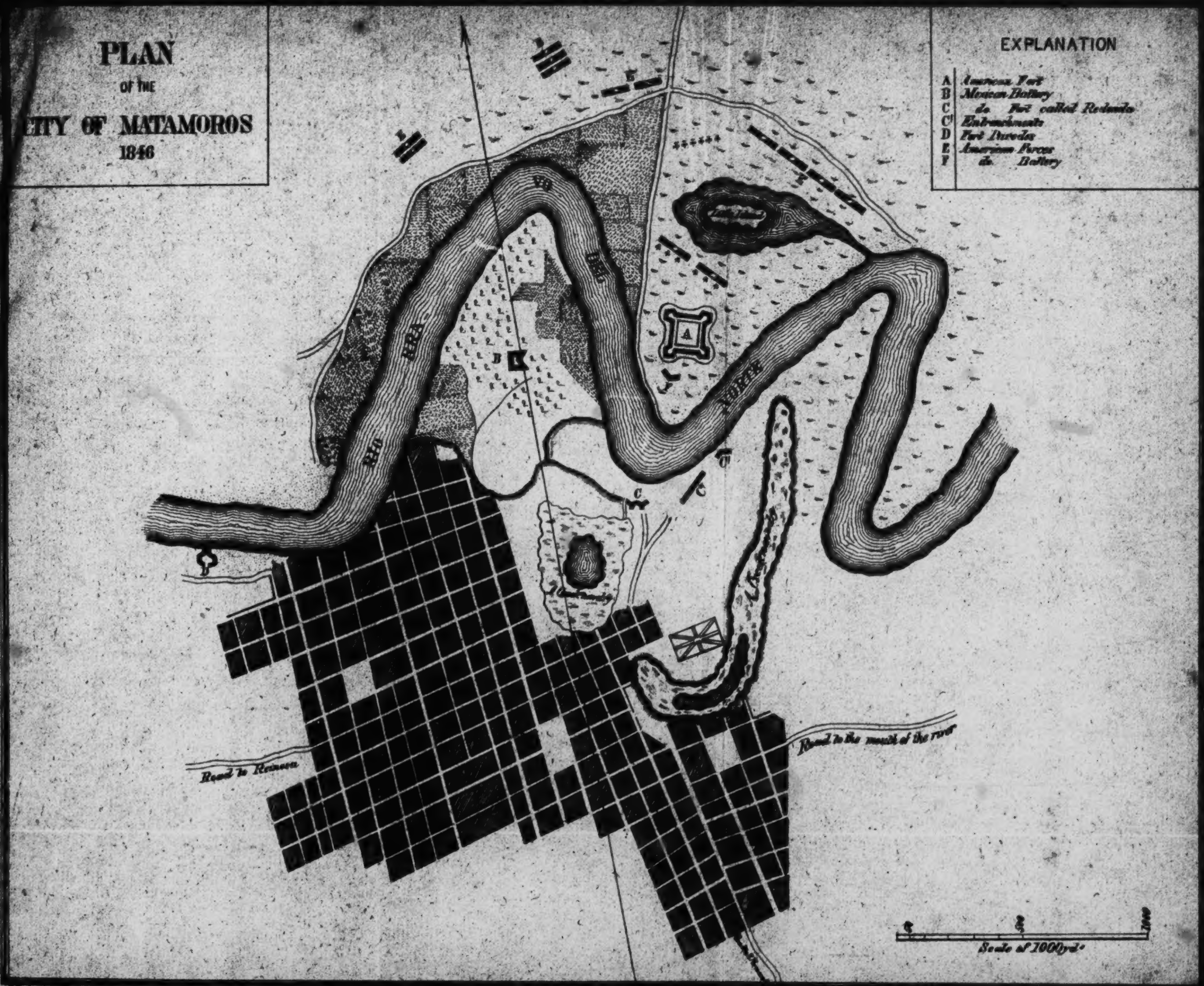
* The Presidiales are soldiers who have been placed along the frontiers to repel and chastise the incursions of the Camanches, Lipans, Apaches, and other barbarous tribes of Indians. A *presidio* is a garrison. But in the official language and common parlance of Mexico, the term is applied to fortified posts only on the borders of the Republic. In former times, it conveyed also the idea of a place of refuge from the savages. Its meaning, however, has not changed in three centuries, although at this time it is used in connexion with military posts alone in the North. The presidial soldiers have

PLAN
OF THE
CITY OF MATAMOROS
1846



EXPLANATION

A	American Fort
B	Mexican Battery
C	do Fort called Redondo
C'	Entrenchments
D	Fort Paredes
E	American Forces
F	do Battery

National Guard of the city of Matamoros. The artillery consisted of 20 field pieces, served by one company. Two or three days after the coming of the Americans, the marines of Tampico arrived, the 6th infantry, and a battalion of the Guarda Costa of that place. These two sections being united, they formed a total of about 3,000 men.

The munitions were not scarce, if they were not abundant. But it was not so fortunate with provisions, because the necessary supply had not been obtained in time, and before the blockade of the port. From the interior of the country it was impossible to bring them, and much less now was there an opportunity.

On the morning of the 28th the roofs of the houses and the highest buildings were seen covered with the whole population, who waited with curiosity for the arrival of the enemy. At ten Mejía was sure that they were approaching, and ordered the generala to beat. In a moment they mounted the fortifications, the troops were placed under arms, and all prepared for the combat, believing that their hour had come.

At two in the afternoon some officers with a white flag presented themselves on the opposite bank of the river, making demonstrations that on our part a Commissioner should be named to enter into a conference with their chiefs. Mejía sent to the parley General Diaz de la Vega. Upon his landing on the left margin of the Bravo, at the same instant the flag of stars was displayed, and the chagrin is indescribable which the Mexicans experienced at this sight. For the first time this banner waved proudly before our forces, as if taking possession of what by every title properly belonged to us. Who then could have believed that the period was about to commence, not yet passed entirely, of our humiliations and misfortunes!

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all the vices engendered in a garrison life, all the cowardice which their constant defeats by the Indians have created, all the laziness contracted in an idle, monotonous existence, and very little military skill.—AM. ED.

Who would have imagined that this grasping flag, fanned by the breeze of victory, should float over cities the most beautiful, until it would be planted on the national palace of our conquered capital?

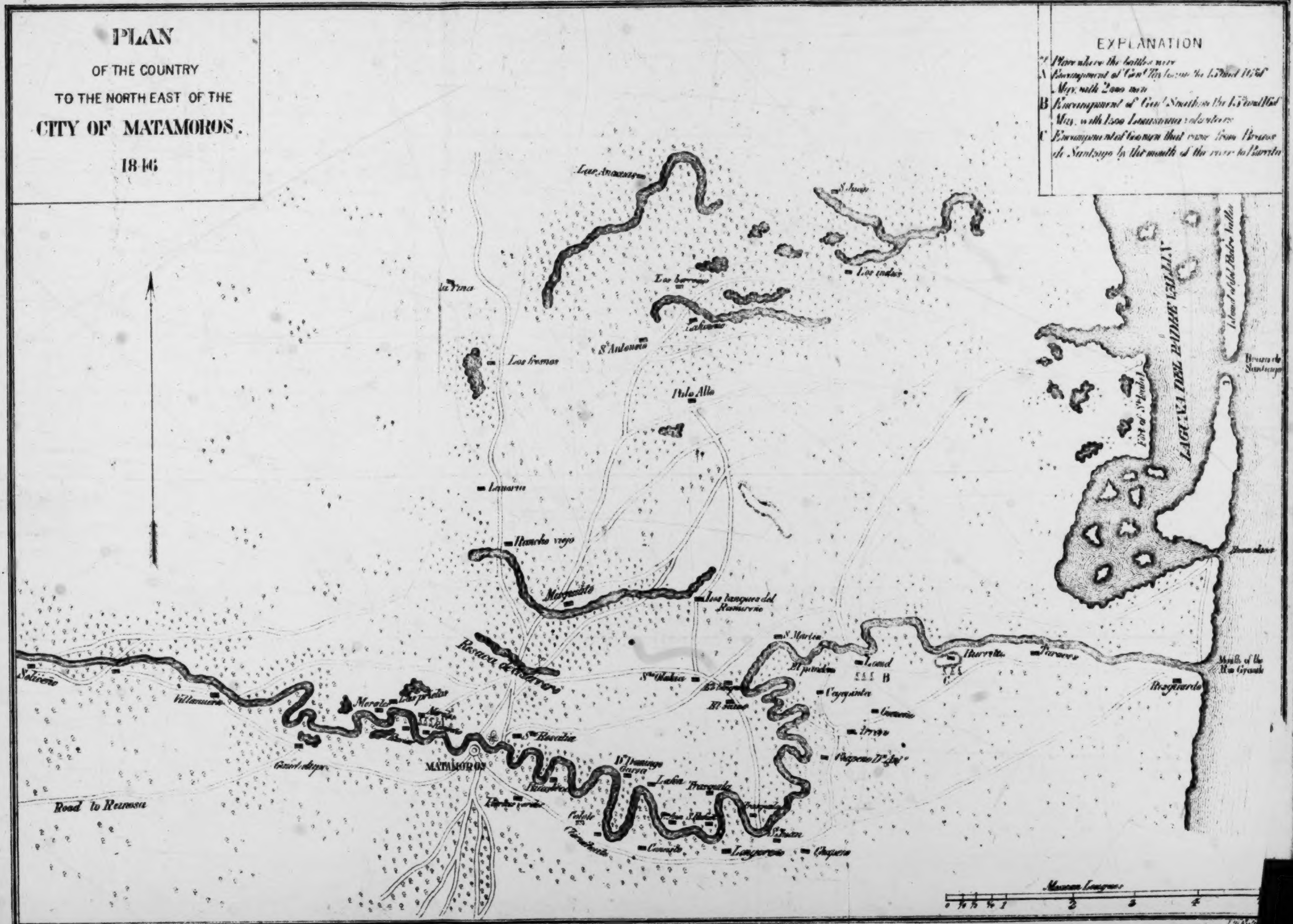
The soldiers of the army of the North were incensed in observing this insult of the enemy. Their cry was for the contest, and they besought their General to permit them to avenge the outrage. General Mejia endeavored to calm their patriotic enthusiasm, but he could not appease them; while his instructions forbade him giving battle, except in the event that all the probabilities of a favorable result were in our favor, or unless the American army passed the river, in which case they were to be resisted at all hazards, whatever might be the issue.

In the conference which took place between Diaz de la Vega and General Worth nothing of importance occurred. Our Commissioner declared that the march of the enemy's army imported a positive act of hostility, that in spite of his denoting it an occupation, his advance to where he was now met, could not be considered in any other light than an invasion with force of arms, and in consequence our General-in-chief would act accordingly, and as his duty prescribed.

The days before this interview had been spent by the enemy in constructing a redoubt with bastions, with wonderful activity, on the ground where they had encamped. On our part they continued working at the works of fortification.

We now turn a glance to Mexico, where will be found established the government of General Paredes. As one of the motives by which the revolutionists supported their pronunciamento, was, that the administration of Herrera did not desire to carry on this war, the new government was bound to do so, at any cost. But so far from reinforcing, as to fulfil their duty, they were content with sending a small body, under the orders of General Ampudia, who was named general-in-chief of the army of the North. Ampudia,

PLAN
OF THE COUNTRY
TO THE NORTH EAST OF THE
CITY OF MATAMOROS.
1846



who seconded the pronunciamento at San Luis, having served effectually the views of Paredes, saw himself rewarded with this appointment.

The news that Ampudia had the command of the army was received with positive regret in Matamoros by many persons who had a decided hatred to the man. Some thought he was actuated at all times by sordid and interested views, and others deemed him incapable of bringing to a glorious termination the difficult enterprise intrusted to him. They wrote therefore in the greatest haste to the President, pointing out the fatal consequences which must result to the nation, and to name another in the place of Ampudia. They intimated that General Arista was the most suitable, who was then at his hacienda of Mamulique.

Ampudia, ignorant of what had passed, soon reached Monterey, with the force which he brought from the capital. He determined to push on with the Light Regiment of Cavalry of Mexico to be immediately at Matamoros, which city he entered on the 11th of April. On the 14th of the same month his division followed, of which the Brevet General Torrejon had been left in command, and which travelled by forced marches. This was composed of the 4th of the line, the active battalions of Mexico, Puebla, and Morelia, the 8th cavalry, and 6 field pieces, with the allowance of 80 artillery men. The whole amounted to 2,200 men.

The plan which General Ampudia had conceived was to pass the river and give battle to the enemy. On the 15th he was going to undertake the movement, which was frustrated, however; for on the night before an order of the government arrived by express, in which it was communicated that Arista* had been named General-in-chief, and he to remain but second only in command. The letters of the officers mentioned above had produced this result, which had decided the President to comply with their wishes, committing still the great fault, of leaving in the army a germ of discord, in two rival and inimical chiefs.

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* The engraving of General Arista, inserted in its proper place, was taken from a painting made when he was much younger. His appearance is singularly prepossessing: of large, muscular stature, of a very fair complexion, even to being freckled, with sandy hair, a peculiarity very uncommon among his countrymen, with a graceful address, always well dressed, with an expres-

Ampudia received also a note from the General-in-chief, in which he was instructed to suspend all operations until his arrival. General Ampudia saw with mortification the opportunity escape from his hands to figure in the first place; for which reason he did not wish at once to give way, but rather to carry out his intention. To this effect he called a junta of generals and chiefs of corps, at which he was present. The certainty that he entertained of obtaining a complete victory by the execution of his proposed plan, he had already assured the government he would answer for with his head. Time was pressing, and would not admit of delay. One minute lost could not be recalled. The facility of attacking the enemy was

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sion, half sadness and half smile, he is not only interesting, but also invites confidence. He resided for a short period in Cincinnati, but not long enough to acquire a knowledge of the English language for conversation. He reads it with some difficulty. Arista is a man of great firmness, of good business habits, an excellent judge of character, and withal of undoubted courage. His enemies at the present time, with more truth than pleasure, acknowledge these characteristics.

Fond of mechanics, he learned a trade in the United States, and is yet addicted to it for amusement. He devotes much time also to agriculture, and carefully reads the American periodicals on this branch of industry, and studies their drawings.

He admires the improvements in the United States, and wishes them introduced into his own country. Hence his enemies accuse him of partiality to Americans. He is now *the* government of Mexico.

Although these "notes" are written with an air of candor, that is borne out by the work itself, still the narrative of Arista's battles was composed under a slight pressure, either of power or friendship, which, while it may slightly damage its impartiality, still is valuable as a statement, approved of by the General, if not actually prepared by himself.—AM. ED.

great, while they remained in a position which he designated as a false one, and before the arrival of reinforcements that they expected. He concluded his speech by adding, that if the chiefs were of his opinion, he would commence operations, without any regard to the prohibition of General Arista, and justifying his disobedience by the necessity of acting.

The commanders answered that they were disposed to obey in all that he ordered, since they recognised in him the second in command of the army. But to oppose the positive order of the commander-in-chief, would be involving them in a weighty responsibility. Thus Ampudia lost the hope of accomplishing his project with the assistance which he sought, and he had no other course than to obey, by suspending his operations until the arrival of General Arista.

In the meanwhile, the enemy worked very busily at their fortifications. Their soldiers began to desert, passing into our camp, and presenting themselves to the commanding officer. Many had the boldness to take to the river in sight of the American advanced guard, who fired upon them. Some were killed or wounded, and some were drowned.

The inhabitants of the neighboring rancherias* around the camp

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* A rancheria is a collection of huts or lightly constructed habitations. A single dwelling of this description is called a rancho. It is in the tierra caliente, on the Rio Grande, formed of boards placed upright in the ground and thatched, or sometimes of adobe, unburnt clay. But further down the coast, in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, where it is difficult to procure timber, a rancho is made of the most flimsy materials. The walls, or rather sides, are of cane, which admit a more free circulation of air than a wicker basket, and covered with palm or other broad leaves, or straw. The whole object seems to be to obtain shelter from the rains. A rancho can be destroyed by fire in a few minutes, and rebuilt in a few hours. It is generally without partitions, and always without flooring in the warm climate.

In the tierra templada, or colder temperature, a rancho is a more durable structure. Besides specimens of adobe, others are formed of planks, 18 inches broad, and 3 thick. These planks are set on their edges, one above of the enemy, had armed themselves, and laid in ambush for those who straggled off, however few there might be, from their comrades. They immediately fell upon them and killed them, giving General Taylor some serious reflections. Among these the fate of Colonel Cross, who was reputed to be a valiant and intelligent officer, was sensibly felt.

General Arista was at this time coming to Matamoros. On the 23d, being at the rancho of Solinceño, three leagues distant from that city, upon the Reynosa road, he determined to put in practice the plan he had formed. Wherefore, he ordered all the cavalry to concentrate there, the battalion of Sappers and two companies of the 2d Light Infantry, under the orders of General Torrejon. On the 24th these troops passed the river at a place called la Palangana, situated on the road which runs from Fort Isabel to Matamoros. From this point and the enemy who were in front of that place, there was a short space for a base of operations, and to it all kinds of assistance were brought. On the 25th, Torrejon had a slight skirmish in Carricitos with a portion of their cavalry, which resulted in some being killed, and 70 American prisoners taken.

The General-in-chief, after directing in person the movement executed by the troops of Torrejon, continued his march to Matamoros, where he took his positions to have accomplished the plan he formed. If the communication were interrupted, as now existing, between the Fort of Santa Isabel, and the forces of General Taylor, it was almost certain, that it would have the effect of making him hazard a battle to re-establish it, and this was precisely what General Arista desired. The attempt was retarded, however, in consequence

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another, and secured at the ends in a way somewhat superior, but similar to our log cabins. These have high steep roofs of boards or shingles, fastened with wooden pins, as substitutes for nails. The wooden floors are very substantial. But wherever these permanent houses are built together in any number, the place is never called a rancheria.—Am. Ed.

of our not having pontons, and a rout, moreover, with a deep river in our rear, would cause the loss of the States of the east. Above all, it has to be observed, that Arista did this, not only to carry out the plan he had framed, the excellence of which cannot be disputed, but also to comply with the expressed orders of Tornel, the minister of war.

Truth compels us to say in this place, that bitter censure was cast upon the dispositions of the General-in-chief, by General Ampudia. The old rivalry of both, revived with much warmth, inflamed by a new cause for disunion, and occasioned by changing the command of the army. The spirit of discord raising its head, grew rapidly, and these shameful dissensions were, as we will see, one of the principal causes of the disasters which precipitated the long series of our defeats..

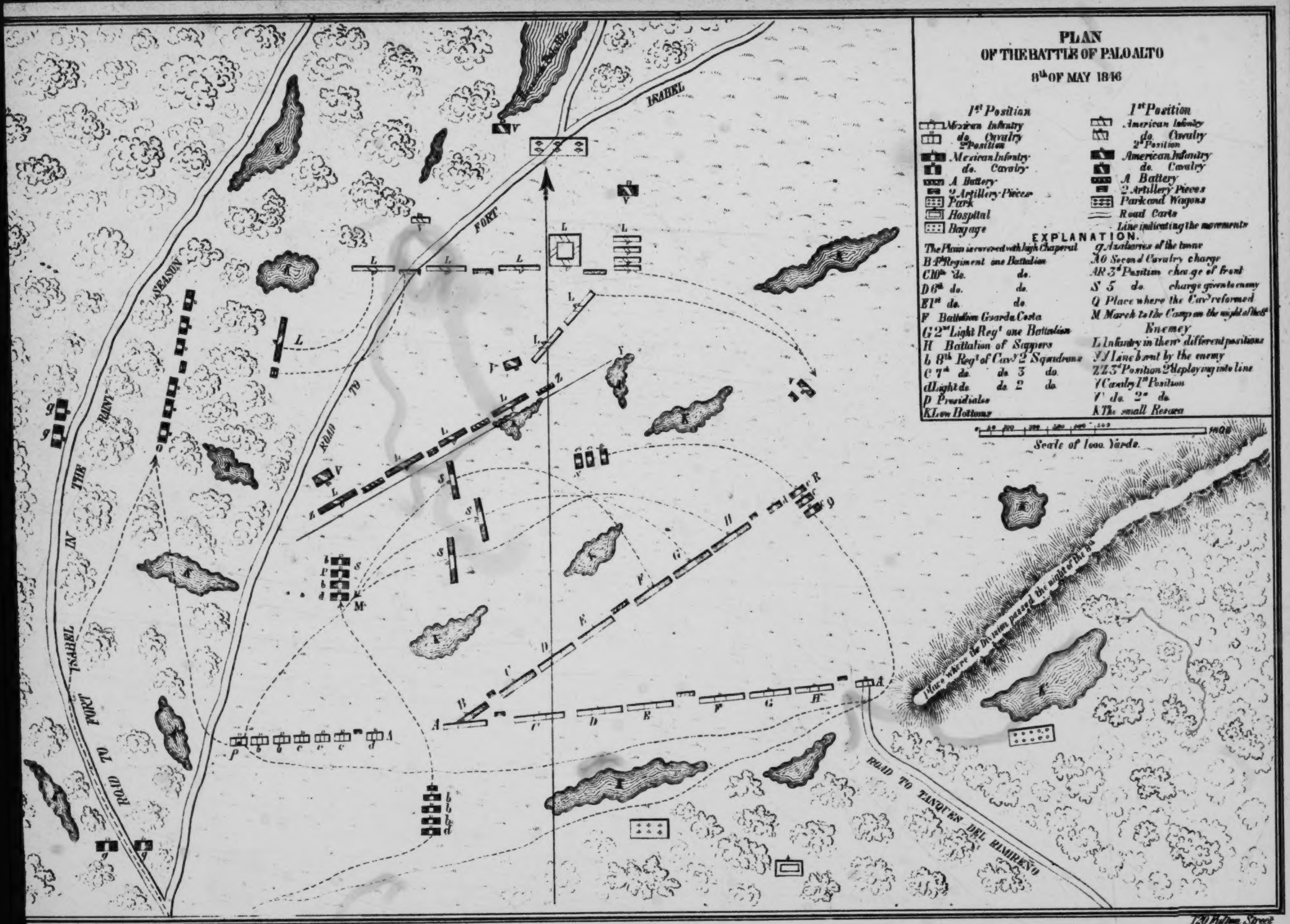
According to the plan indicated by General Arista, the army should pass the river, to unite with the division that had done so before, and interpose the whole between the enemy's forces in front of Matamoros, and those stationed at Fort Isabel. To execute this movement he marched the troops, with twelve pieces, from the city to the rancho of Longoreño, distant five leagues, which was the point designated on the road leading to the mouth of the river, where the passage was to take place. He endeavored to conceal the march from the enemy, so that the surprise might be complete. General Mejía remained in Matamoros with the active battalion of Mexico, different pickets of distinct corps, and the balance of the artillery.

An order was sent to General Torrejon, that with the force under his command, he should proceed to the point designated for crossing the river, to favor that movement. Great difficulties were presented in accomplishing the passage. From an inexcusable fault the number of boats on which they had counted was not collected, and the whole army passed the river in two only, which landed the troops in succession on the opposite shore. This dispiriting operation, that lasted for twenty-four hours, gave the enemy time to avoid meeting us, by which an excellent opportunity was lost of defeating them; and to this we would call attention. At two o'clock in the evening, Arista received information from Mejía that in the encampment of the enemy a general movement was observed. After striking their tents, they were preparing to march, and were arranging their wagons and men. It was to be supposed that General Taylor would move upon the army operating, as the General-in-chief had anticipated; but it was not difficult also for him to march on Matamoros, where had been left only a small garrison. He, therefore, ordered the battalion of Morelia to countermarch, which he sent back to reinforce the place.

This piece of unsatisfactory news which he received on the 2d, was that Taylor, with 2,000 men, availing himself suddenly of the delay in our troops passing the river, had marched for the Fort of Isabel; thus frustrating the original plan of the General-in-chief. But, as it might be believed that he would return with reinforcements to relieve the companies which were stationed in front of Matamoros, it was resolved to anticipate him on the plain, and Arista continued his advance to Palo Alto, where he encamped. To the end that General Taylor might immediately return, he determined to make more critical the position of the Americans abandoned in the fortification, recently constructed, and already sufficiently straitened. Against this, therefore, he opened his fires on the 3d, to menace the place.

On the 4th our army changed its position from the want of water, to the Tanques del Ramireño. On the 5th, Arista ordered General Ampudia to march upon the encampment and fortification of the enemy, for the purpose of attacking them; taking with him the 4th infantry, the battalion of Puebla, 2 companies of sappers, 200 men of the regiment auxiliary of the towns of the North, and 4 pieces of artillery. Afterwards this force was increased by the battalion of Morelia, which passed the river at the Anacuitas.

The situation of the Americans in the fortification was very soon



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PALO ALTO

8th OF MAY 1846

1st Position
Mexican Infantry
do. Cavalry
2d Position
Mexican Infantry
do. Cavalry
A Battery
2 Artillery Pieces
Park
Hospital
Bagage
1st Position
American Infantry
do. Cavalry
2d Position
American Infantry
do. Cavalry
A Battery
2 Artillery Pieces
Park and Wagons
Road Carts
Line indicating the movements
EXPLANATION.
The Plain is covered with high Chaparral
B 4th Regiment one Battalion
C 10th do. do.
D 6th do. do.
E 1st do. do.
F Battalion Guarda Costa
G 2nd Light Regt one Battalion
H Battalion of Sappers
b 8th Regt of Cavy 2 Squadrons
C 7th do. do 3 do.
d Light do. do 2 do.
p Presidiales
K Low Bottoms
g Auxiliaries of the towns
X O Second Cavalry charge
A R 3d Position change of front
S 5 do. charge given to enemy
Q Place where the Cavy reformed
M March to the Camp on the night of the 8th
Enemy
L Infantry in their different positions
Y Y Lane burnt by the enemy
Z Z 3d Position 2d deploying into line
V Cavalry 1st Position
V' do. 2d do.
R The small Reserve
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Scale of 1000 Yards.
ROAD TO FORT ISABEL
ROAD TO FORT ISABEL IN THE RAINY SEASON
ROAD TO TANQUES DEL RAMIRENO
Place where the Division passed the night of the 8th
A
B
C
D
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mans lith

120 Fulton Street

effectually compromised. Placed between the fires of the city and the force of Ampudia, reduced to a very few men, with a scarcity of provisions, and without the certainty of receiving assistance in time, there remained nothing more than to surrender, after prolonging for a short period their defence. The death of the officer in command assisted in disconcerting them, their outworks fell into our power, and a summons was sent to them to surrender. Triumph would then have crowned our arms if the advance of Taylor upon the army with Arista, had not obliged Ampudia to reinforce him, by abandoning all the advantages he had obtained.

On the 8th it was positively ascertained from the spies, that the enemy, in number about 3,000 men, with an abundance of artillery, and numerous wagons, were directing their march from the Fort of Isabel to the entrenched camp in front of Matamoros. The General-in-chief at once determined to give battle; an opportunity which he had sought for so many days. At ten o'clock in the morning our cavalry went forth upon the spacious plain of Palo Alto: the infantry followed at two in the day, and there came in sight of the enemy.

General Arista gave the command to form immediately in the order of battle, and the corps were placed as follows:—On our right, supported by a small elevation of ground some eighteen or twenty feet high, was placed a squadron of the light regiment of Mexico, and from thence the line extended over the plain; next, 1 piece of artillery intervened, then the battalion of sappers, the 2d regiment of light, the battalion and company of the Guarda Costa of Tampico, a battery of 8 pieces, and, immediately after, the 1st, 6th, and 10th of the line. The infantry were commanded by Generals Diaz de la Vega, and Garcia.

At 400 yards distant came four squadrons formed from the cavalry corps of the 7th and 8th Light of Mexico and the Presidial Companies. In the interval of the first and second of these were 2 light pieces of artillery. General Torrejon commanded this force.

Our army in the order of battle, observed the enemy without opening their fire, until half past two o'clock in the evening, at which time the troops were informed that Ampudia was drawing on the engagement by instructions from the General-in-chief. His command was composed of one company of Sappers, the 4th regiment of the line, 2 pieces of artillery, and the 200 men, auxiliaries of the towns of the North. These were posted on our left flank at a sufficient distance, and sheltered by the wood. With the reinforcement thus received, our army counted 3,000 fighting men, a number equal, with a very trifling difference, to that of the enemy.*

Let us pause for one moment, before undertaking to mention the sanguinary battles of this fatal war, and to direct our attention to these troops who opened this tragic drama, which, in its prosecution, has become a catastrophe to us. For the first time they came to measure their strength, and to sustain the rights of their respective nations; these sons of two distinct races, now meeting to appear before a Supreme Being, destroying each other in the new continent as they had destroyed in the old. The one assumed the work of usurpation and treachery; the other defended a sacred cause in which it was true glory to die as a sacrifice.

Immediately before commencing the action, the General-in-chief reviewed the line, rectified the corps one by one, represented the glory that would ensue from a triumph, and the gratitude which they might anticipate from their countrymen. His remarks were received with enthusiasm, the banners floated to the wind, the soldiers stood to their arms, the horses pawed the ground, the bands performed inspiring and beautiful music, and shouts filled the air of "Viva la Republica," as if bearing up to the throne of a just God, the cry of vengeance raised by an offended nation.

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* It seems from this account, that the Mexicans had an army of 5,200 men in all, in front of Taylor's force; and it is by no means certain that 2,200 of these were left in the city, on the days of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca. They knew the number of men in the American entrenched camp after Taylor left for Fort Isabel, because the market people and their other countrymen were frequently at that place as well as their spies. This is a confused statement of numbers at the different points on those days which they were able, if they had been willing, to explain. This is an imperfection in their "notes," purporting to be accurate, which ought not to exist.

General Taylor, in his official report, states that the American force did not exceed 2,300, all told.—Am. Ed.

Our batteries opened their fire, which was answered by the superior artillery of the enemy, placed at 600 yards from our line. The forces of Ampudia followed, approaching together. The 4th regiment of the line moved forward in good order, in close column. The Americans observed this, and received it with a very spirited discharge of cannon. The 4th not disconcerted, calm amidst the danger so great, as if on parade, continued its movement, till coming up to the line, where it deployed to the front on the left of the 10th.[*]

The fire was now destructive and deadly. The enemy, whose object was to reach their entrenched camp in front of Matamoros, availed themselves of a stratagem to set fire to the grass, which was in front, so that a dense smoke arising, their operations might be hid.[†] In this way an hour was passed, when Torrejon ordered

[*] As this movement of displaying from close column into line, *under the American fire*, may be deemed questionable, the text has been copied to show that there is no mistake in the translation. It was either a blunder, which they do not perceive, or it was not the fact, the latter most probably. If the Mexican troops were so steady and skilful as to execute this piece of tactics, they ought to have won the battle.—AM. ED.

"El 4º regimiento de linea avanza en columna cerrada en el mejor orden; los americanos lo notan y la reciben con un fuego vivisimo de cañon; el 4º no se desconcierta: sereno en un peligro tan grande como en una parada continua su movimiento hasta llegar á la linea donde despliega en batalla a la izquierda del 10º."

[†] This is amusing, and no doubt will be equally novel to the American army. The fact was that Duncan's battery being stationed in high grass, the wadding of the pieces by accident set fire to it. As the Mexicans were facing

a charge of cavalry on the right wing of the enemy. This manœuvre was executed by filing to the left. At a certain distance from the enemy, and when already some confusion had been caused by the large space traversed over, some one stopped the charge by saying, that the troops in front were going to pass them. All the corps halted, and at the same instant, the two pieces which the Americans had placed on this part of the field, were fired, causing some havoc. The disorder increased, and our cavalry, instead of charging, retreated. There was in truth no real obstacle in advancing, except some smouldering ashes which had to be ridden over; no obstacle certainly in the road.

The artillery of the Americans, much superior to ours, made horrid ravages in the ranks of the Mexican army. The soldiers yielded, not overwhelmed in a combat in which they might deal out the death which they received—not in the midst of the excitement and gallantry which the ardor of a battle brings forth, but in a fatal situation in which they were killed with impunity, and decimated in cold blood. The action was prolonged for whole hours under such unfortunate auspices, and the slain increased every minute. The troops at last, tired of being slaughtered for no use, demanded with a shout to be led on to the enemy with the bayonet, for they wished to fight hand to hand, and to die like brave men.

The General-in-chief did not decide at once to comply with their wish. At this time some disorder occurred among the corps on our

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the Gulf, the sea breeze which always prevails there in the day time, blew the smoke in their eyes.

This prairie on fire was not only an annoyance, but a positive injury to the Americans. Some of them were scorched severely. But what was still more serious, it greatly embarrassed the movements of General Taylor. The classical gentlemen who have endorsed this strange assertion might have recollected that the heathen deities always threw a cloud over those whom they wished to save; and certainly the American General desired to see his enemy, although his intention might not have been so benevolent.—Am. Ed.

right, which wavered. Arista hastened to the spot, re-established discipline, and finally ordered the charge they had craved. At this minute it was beginning to draw on to night.

To execute this manœuvre, the army was supported from the left in the cavalry of Torrejon, and from the right in the light squadron of Mexico, along with the 7th regiment, which was weakened to be placed there. This force in moving inclined upon our infantry, in which it introduced disorder. Our troops being disconcerted, trampled on each other, and did not come up to the enemy, but passed within pistol-shot of the batteries, which broke them, destroyed them, and obliged them to retire by the left of our line of battle. What contributed also most effectually to produce this bad result was, that instead of forming the army in columns to approach the enemy, they advanced in line.

Fortunately the Americans did not avail themselves, nor scarcely notice the disorder in our force, for at this time night had completely closed in. Thus believing the attack to be more serious and dangerous, they retired to the shelter of their wagons. The Mexicans did the same, upon the hill which had supported their first position.

The fire began to spread. Its sinister splendor illuminated the camp, in which a short time before resounded the roar of artillery, and in which now were heard heart-rending groans of our wounded. As most of these were from cannon-shot, they were horribly mutilated. The sight deeply saddened, and the misfortune was complete, when nothing could be done to alleviate their sufferings, for the surgeon who carried the medicine-chests had disappeared at the first fire, without breathing where he had deposited them. There was no other choice than to send some of them to Matamoros in the carts that had brought provisions. The rest were left abandoned on the 9th in the field.

The enemy were so far from believing they had gained a triumph, that on the night of the 8th a council of war took place, in which a majority of the officers voted for a retreat to Fort Isabel. Taylor insisted on advancing, and to his firm decision it is owing that they did not fall back. But this fact proves most clearly, that in the battle of Palo Alto the honor of our arms was well established.

The Mexican army passed the night sad and dispirited. Although the action had been undecided, there prevailed a fatal presentiment of a rout. There commenced to be credence given to rumors of treason which had been circulated before. The battle of the next day was dreaded in advance, for the persuasion existed that in contending for victory it would not be won by the greatest skill and valor, but that ambition and treachery were intent on immolating the Republic to their stupid views by the shedding of Mexican blood.

Far be it from us to entertain the belief criminating with treason what was done by General Arista, who, perhaps, might be accused of other faults, but in no way of this, nor also of cowardice; for it is well known that during the whole action the danger endowed him with valor that has merited recommendation and eulogium.

Day dawned on the 9th without the enemy having changed their position. The General-in-chief then resolved to retreat. He gave the order for this to be done, and charged General Ampudia to sustain the movement. The troops at 6 o'clock in the morning took the road for Matamoros, in view of the enemy, who did not attempt to check them. At 10 o'clock they arrived at a place known by the name of Resaca de Guerrero,* where the General-in-chief determined to await General Taylor, and to give him a new battle. In the selection of the spot, Captain Berlandier had a great

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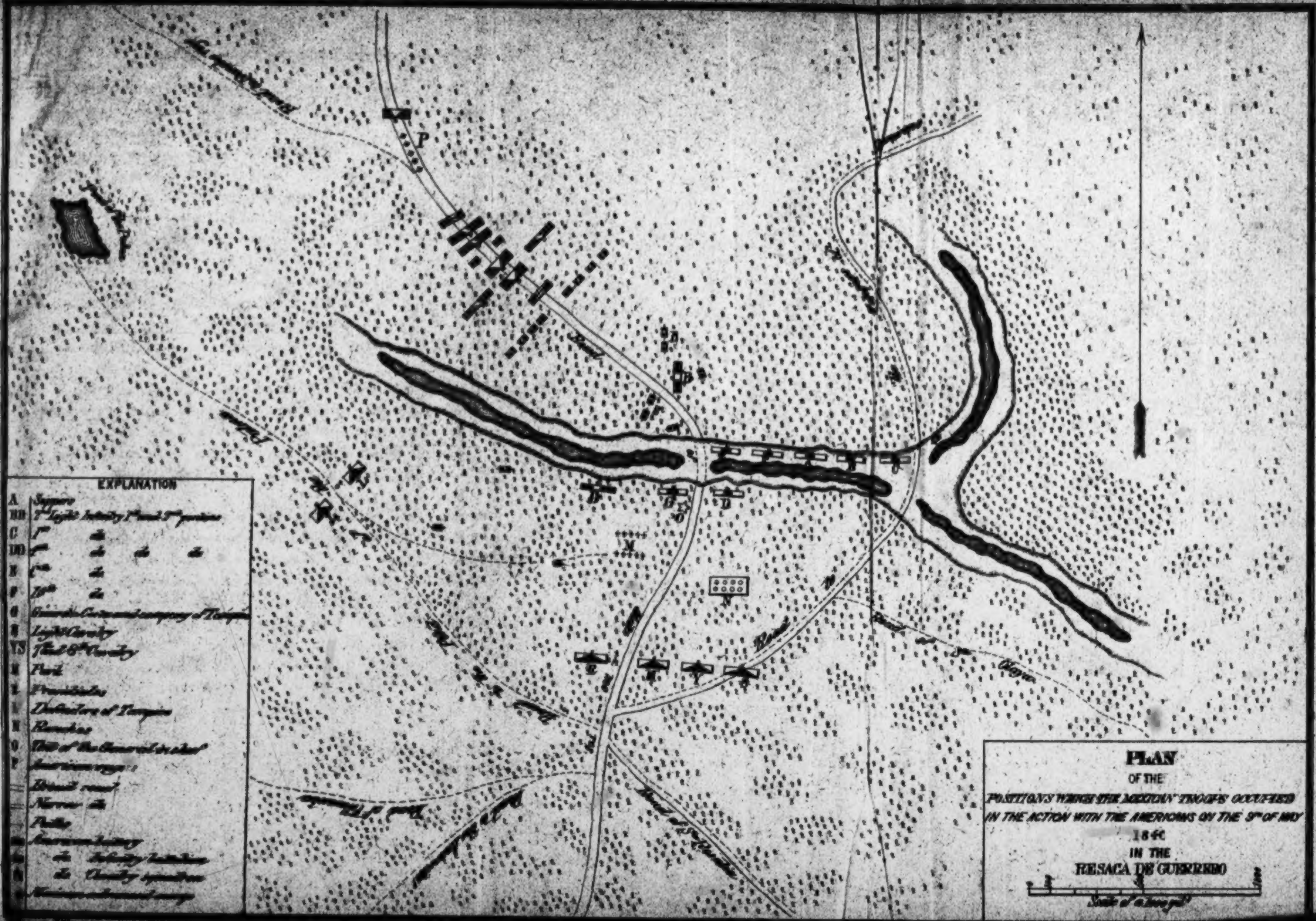
* It is generally believed that La Resaca de Guerrero and la de la Palma are the same. It is, however, proper to say, for illustration, that the first is where our troops encamped and gave battle, and the second is the situation where afterwards the Americans were detained.

PLAN
OF THE
POSITIONS WHICH THE MEXICAN TROOPS OCCUPIED
IN THE ACTION WITH THE AMERICANS ON THE 9th OF MAY
1846
IN THE
RESACA DE GUERRERO
Scale of [illegible]
EXPLANATION
A Sappers
BB 1st Light Infantry 1st and 2nd portions
C 1st do
DD 2nd do do do
E 6th do
F 10th do
G Guarda Costa and company of Tampico
H Light Cavalry
YS 7th and 8th Cavalry
M Park
L Provisions
I Defenders of Tampico
N Ranches
O Tent of the General in chief
P American wagons
Broad road
Narrow do
Paths
American battery
do Infantry battalions
do Cavalry squadrons
[illegible]
P
M
N
Road
Road to Matamoros

influence, who pointed it out to Arista as the most suitable on that side of Matamoros for fighting with advantage, and with the probabilities of success.

La Resaca completely cut the road, in a direction somewhat oblique, forming a slight ravine, and at its extremities to the right and to the left were two pools of standing water. The ground in which it was situated was covered completely by a thick wood, whose trees and briers embarrassed the passage. The battalions of Sappers, the 6th of the line, the 2d Light, the 10th, and the 1st of Infantry who came to the right of the road were soon posted, the soldiers being covered to the breast by the first or front brink of the ravine. To the left, were placed the battalion and company of the Guarda Costa of Tampico, upon the second border of, or beyond the same. Among the wood, in the rear of the right, and as the second line, were the 2d of the line and the 4th battalion. The left flank was covered by the regiment of Canales. The remainder of the troops were placed at two batteries, situated, one at the entrance of the road into the Resaca, and the other on its second border, to the right of the ravine. Finally, the cavalry remained at some 300 yards to the rear upon the road, and the general park and trains to the left of the same, in a *plazoleta* (small open space), which was in the wood. The companies of sharpshooters of the corps displayed as skirmishers to the front of the line, by covering the part of the left to the 4th and 6th.

The enemy having, although at some distance, followed our march, of which the General-in-chief had notice, by information from Ampudia, were now redoubling their speed to unite with their other troops. But this did not prevent Arista ordering the park to be unloaded, the mules at the pieces to be unhitched, and those of burden to be unharnessed, with their bridles taken off. These dispositions arose from the firm belief that General Taylor would not attempt to attack this day in the position which we held, and it did not change his mind on observing at half past two o'clock, in the evening, a party of Americans approach, to reconnoitre the ground. They were received with a cannonade, and retired immediately, after suffering some loss.

The enemy advanced upon our troops at half-past four o'clock. The General-in-chief, apprised of what was going on, still persisted in his error, calling this attack a simple skirmish. In this opinion he retired confidently to his tent, after speaking with General Diaz de la Vega, to whom he said he reserved the honor of commanding the action on this day. Then he passed to the left part of the 4th of the line, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Calatayud. The enemy, in the meanwhile, attacked the 2d Light, which was weak from being employed in the advance guard. In it was found a strong resistance, as well as in the companies of the sharpshooters, the 4th and the 6th, commanded by the gallant Captains D. José Barragan and D. José Maria Moreno. The 2d Light fought with decided courage. The two heroic companies did battle with a great part of the North American army. Their extraordinary efforts of valor shone brightly against the immense numerical superiority of their opponents. Barragan fell mortally wounded. Moreno was taken prisoner. The soldiers, reduced to one-fourth their number, without officers, without hope, maintained even for some time the unequal strife, and, finally, had to give way. At this time the 2d Light found itself obliged to retreat after seeing fall, killed or wounded, the greater part of its officers; and the name of Lieutenant-Colonel D. Mariano Fernandez ought to be mentioned among the latter. The retreat of the 2d disconcerted the corps on the right.

General Taylor continued his principal attack upon our left flank, which was the weakest part of the line, ordering also by the right road a charge of cavalry upon the batteries, there situated. The action soon became general. The enemy's artillery decimated our ranks. Their dragoons rode up to our pieces, which they captured. The disappointed Captain D. Dolores Ramires, who commanded one of the batteries, would not surrender. He refused with heroic enthusiasm his life, which the Americans offered him, and died gallantly over his cannon. Among those who were taken prisoners was General Diaz de la Vega.

The action continued on our left. Our forces here, reduced to the battalion and company of the Guarda Costa of Tampico, resisted the attack. The commander of the first, D. Juan Mateos, was wounded. Captain Arana died like a brave man. The enemy surrounded our soldiers on every side, to cut off a retreat. Then the First Adjutant D. Ramon Tabera and Captain D. José Barreiro placed themselves at the head, and succeeded in opening a passage with great intrepidity. In doing so the second received three wounds, which disabled him. These forces united with the presidial companies, commanded by Colonel Sabariego, and when joined organized their retreat. By this the salvation of part of our soldiers was effected.

General Arista, who now knew the triumph of the Americans, being governed the whole time by a fatal infatuation, could not believe that they intended a regular battle. He ordered to halt what remained of the 4th regiment, under the orders of Colonel Uraga, and instructed General Ampudia to proceed with this force to sustain the action. These new combatants, to whom Ampudia gave an example of valor, fought with ardor. But all was in vain. The enemy continued their advance, and the retreat of the squadrons of Canales, which, as we have said, covered our left flank, assisted in ceding the triumph to the enemy. All our material of war fell into their power. The disorder which defeat had produced on the left of our line soon extended to the corps on the right. This last had not been under fire, but dispersed shamefully, except the 1st of the line, which united, and with its colonel at its head retired without burning a cartridge, passing the river at the Longeroño. The soldiers dispersed, and threaded their way through the briers of the wood. The most horrible confusion reigned on the field, and everything announced a grievous disaster to our arms.

The General-in-chief, who, although he remained in his tent writing, was convinced at last, unfortunately very late, however, from the rapidity of the defeat, that his impression had been a mistake. Full then of regret, and burning with rage, he burst out into complaints against the cowards, and sought to be killed: or hoping even yet to check the enemy, he placed himself at the head of the cavalry, which being stationed in the rear, was preserved untouched. He made the last effort. He charged boldly upon the victors, and penetrated to our first position. But the enemy, now supported by the wood on the side of the road, opened a terrible fire, and shot down our lancers with safety. There was now nothing left, except to retreat, which was done in as good order as possible, while the enemy, availing themselves of the victory, followed in pursuit.

Thus was consummated the defeat of the Resaca, upon which it is necessary to enter into some explanations, for without them what occurred could not be comprehended. The reader has already noticed with surprise the little valor which most of the corps of the army manifested, actually going so far as to disband without fighting at all. Were these soldiers the veterans of the North, accustomed to the fire of battles, models of courage and discipline? Were these soldiers the brave men, who the day before, serene and firm, had permitted themselves to be cut to pieces by the enemy's batteries, who, instead of thinking of dispersing, had only asked for the order to charge with the bayonet? And if they were the same, how came this sudden and unexpected change? Why, wanting in duty, did they diminish by their bad conduct the reputation which they had gained at the price of their blood? We must say wherefore, speaking with the impartiality of historians, however painful it may be to touch wounds which we would conceal from the sight of those who observe us.

We do not deny that the erroneous position which was taken, awaiting the enemy on ground that was covered with wood, had a direct influence in the loss of the battle. Also, we hesitate to confess that the events of the day before disheartened the soldiers, and that the mistake of Arista contributed much against us. But if we would dwell on the first cause, the distrust and jealousy, we should find the mainspring of their faults. It was the rumor instigated by rivalry and hatred, which soon ran through the army, that the General-in-chief was a traitor, that he was about to repeat the scenes of Guanajuato, that he had formally agreed to sell the army, and to deliver it up to the rage of the enemy. These destroyed at the roots, the morale and discipline. Many soldiers broke their arms, crying out in desperation that they were betrayed, and from this it happened that they dispersed, when their courage was most wanted. In this way, men the most favored, the most courted, men who had given their patrimony to the Republic, plunged the dagger first into its breast, without thinking that the country could say to them in the words of Cæsar to Brutus, "Thou also, my son."

The defeat having taken place, the dispersion became general. The soldiers sought the river in all directions, not believing themselves safe while they were on the other side. The General-in-chief, with the cavalry, passed at the Villa de Ampudia. General Canales, with his regiment, and Tabera with a great many stragglers whom he had collected, and two pieces of artillery, effected the same, not far above that placce. The force that had attacked the American fortification, crossed at the Anacuitas, where the confusion and trampling on each other were astonishing. A large part of the army having reached there, they began to dispute for the preference in being ferried over the river in the only two boats that were found. The obstinacy of every one increased the difficulty. The boats were detained a greater length of time than was necessary, in pushing off from the bank, for the men in them were delayed in getting rid of those who rushed in to take their places. Fright spread the idea that the enemy approached, in pursuit of them retreating. The disorder increased, the want of transports rendered desperate the miserable fugitives, who, to escape from one danger, rushed into another, when flying from the Americans. They sought some ford which saved them, or threw themselves into the river with their clothes and arms, and almost all were drowned. A very limited number, if in fact any, safely reached the other shore.

In this frightful disorder, honorable mention deserves to be made of the distinguished officers, Orihuela and Urriza, who, in front of the battalions of Puebla and Morelia, which they commanded, protected the passage on the retreat, being themselves the last to follow, and being constantly prepared to resist the enemy if coming up to attack. We must also remember the inhabitants of the rancherias on the banks of the river, who gave to the soldiers good and well-timed assistance.

Terrible and mournful was the impression which the defeat and dispersion produced in Matamoros on the first arrival of some flying from the field, and confirmed by those who followed. In the night a large number of stragglers had collected there, and the General-in-chief, who finally arrived, made dispositions to have them distributed in quarters.

The day of the 10th was sufficient to unite the army, diminished to only one fifth of its original strength—a lamentable fact, which was certainly thought so, and an opinion which all the fugitives entertained who actually reached Matamoros. The whole effective loss was in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Its salvation was owing to General Taylor not having made use of his victory. If he had pursued our troops, and followed them across the river, it is undoubted that he should have completely destroyed them and taken Matamoros without opposition.

On this day the General-in-chief was engaged in re-establishing order and discipline, reviving the courage of the soldiers, and infusing into them the morale that was extinct. He called a junta of officers, and made known to those present the necessity of forgetting every matter of discord, by concentrating all their efforts to the sole and sacred object—the salvation of the country. Lastly, he visited the quarters of the men, and ordered continual reviews to take place.

An exchange of prisoners was made on the 11th, and our wounded at Resaca were transferred to the hospitals at Matamoros, in pursuance of an arrangement with General Taylor. The General-in-chief noticed on this day, and the next, that the enemy were preparing to attack the city; and, as he judged that the soldiers were not yet in a fit state to engage in another action, he decided to abandon the place, and, at midnight, he ordered the corps that were prepared, to take up their march.

In consequence, at day-break, on the 12th, different corps of infantry moved off, and encamped in the interior, at one league distant, going out from the city gradually, in such numbers, and so privately, that at the time the enemy made no attempt upon it.

A few days after, reliable information was obtained that General Taylor was certainly going to effect a passage of the river, to attack Matamoros. Upon this, the General-in-chief assembled a junta of war, at which assisted Generals Ampudia, Raquena, Torrejon, Jāuregui, Garcia, and Morlet, and Colonel Uraga, at which he made known what he had learned, and urged each of them to express with frankness and sincerity, his opinion, and what seemed the most suitable course to pursue. He always, however, reserved to himself to decide, being alone responsible, on that which should be thought the best.

In conformity with this, their opinions were given respectively that the place could not be defended. The only difference among them was as to the time when it should be abandoned; some contending that it ought to be before they were surrounded by the enemy, and others that the retreat should be accomplished under the enemy's fire, being convinced that this only would preserve the honor of our arms.

The junta having been broken up, General Raquena was sent as a commissioner to the camp of the enemy, to solicit an armistice, which, however, General Taylor refused. This circumstance decided Arista to order a definitive evacuation and abandonment of the city; and in consequence, at one o'clock, the cavalry rode out, and at five o'clock the corps that composed the 2d brigade of infantry. The troops halted on the plains of Doña Rita, on the outskirts of Matamoros.

The departure of the park, the trains, and the material of war which still remained, presented great difficulties, in consequence of the scarcity of the means for transporting them. After a thousand steps had been proposed, and as many obstacles overcome, it was determined that the prefect should select a certain quantity of carts drawn by oxen, in which he should accommodate the park as well as he could, and being loaded, to leave the city forthwith.

At twilight the retreat commenced, and took place in the following order. The General-in-chief opened the march with the 2d brigade of infantry, the artillery, and the carts of the park. The 1st brigade of infantry followed, and the cavalry covered the rear. General Canales, with his slim force, which remained, in consequence of the desertions, took the route by the towns of the North. At two in the morning the army arrived at the rancho of the Venada, four leagues distant from Matamoros.

In that city more than four hundred wounded had been left to the generosity of the enemy. Some among these, however, having heard of the retreat of the army, crawled out of the hospitals and followed, dragging their bodies along the ground, and leaving a track of blood. These truly unfortunate, preferred all kinds of suffering rather than being deserted, among a population on whom they feared the victors would exercise every cruelty.

There remained also, in the city, the baggage of the officers, clerks, and of the staffs, chests and depositories of the corps, and 5 pieces of artillery, spiked. A large part of the park which could not be carried away in the carts, was thrown into the river, or completely destroyed, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Americans, who, on the 18th, took possession of Matamoros.

Candor obliges us to state, that while a considerable quantity of the park was abandoned, while the pieces of artillery had to be spiked, while the unhappy soldiers had to carry on their backs the kettles for cooking, there were several generals who took many pack mules, loaded with their baggage, equipage, and whatever else might serve for their comfort and ease.

The division continued its march to the rancho of Medraneño. Here began the sufferings without number of this memorable retreat. The General-in-chief had resolved to follow the road he had adopted, as it led directly to Linares. This place was a point of strategy, in which our troops being stationed, they could repair to Monterey or Victoria, according to the direction taken by the enemy's forces. Many heavy inconveniences served, however, to counterbalance this advantage, in truth not contemptible, for the route taken was to remove from among a population where supplies could be obtained, and to enter a desert. Moreover, the army was in want of every kind of provisions. For most of the distance, water was not met with, the want of which occasioned more misery among the soldiers than all others united.

Having arrived on the 19th at Ebanito, news was received that 300 of the cavalry of the enemy had gone out of Matamoras, in pursuit of those who were retreating. Encamping on the 20th at Nutria, the General-in-chief took proper precautions against a surprise, and the next day he remained in camp all the morning, awaiting the enemy. It was then supposed that they had turned back, and at four o'clock the retreat was renewed. When the troops had been on the march for an hour, it commenced raining in torrents, which continued all night. The soldiers deemed this a blessing of Providence. For dead with thirst, and without water to mitigate it, that which fell from the heavens came opportunely to their inestimable relief, and which in no other manner could have been obtained.

They received it with almost the same gratitude that was manifested to the Deity by the armies of his chosen people, to whom he sent manna also in the desert, to satisfy the hunger that tormented them.

But the misfortunes of the army were such that what diminished the sufferings in one way, increased them in another. This rain, which had abundantly satisfied their thirst, damaged the road and made it almost impassable for the soldiers. They were now overcome; tired, sick, starving, without strength, and without courage. Their food was reduced to beef, cooked in kettles brought from Matamoros, and which from its scarcity was not sufficient to appease their hunger. Finally, discouraged to the verge of despair, they had not the strength to decide on prosecuting their march. They threw themselves upon the ground, and many remained there buried in the mud.

On the 22d they arrived at the plain of Esperanza, where they ..ited, to permit the troops to dry their clothing. Being in want of provisions, they killed some of the oxen which had drawn the carts of the park and the pieces of artillery. The number of these useful animals sensibly decreased. Many were killed to be eaten, and many had died on the day from suffering. What now remained of them were fatigued, and almost incapable of further service. From the want of this assistance, it was necessary to conceal the park in the bushes, and the children of the Republic drew the pieces forward with their hands. The cavalry also had lost a great number of horses, from which circumstance many dragoons were seen on foot, carrying their saddles.

In this plight they marched till five o'clock in the evening, and at two in the morning they found themselves at the camp of Calabozo. Their patience and suffering had now come to the extreme, and there were some soldiers who perpetrated suicide in a moment of desperation.

La Gruñiadora was seen on the 23d; and on the 24th, the Well of

Todos Santos, and the hacienda of the Vaqueria on the 25th. There they met supplies which were at present so entirely indispensable, after so many days of misery and want.

The cavalry encamped on the 26th, in the hacienda of the Trinidad, and the infantry at the rancho of the Pomona. At the hacienda of Guadaloupe, on the 27th, they received provisions in abundance, coming from Linares, where, on the 28th, they halted.

The affecting death of General Garcia characterized this day's march. He was a chivalrous and illustrious citizen, and a brave man. His sudden decease was attributed to profound grief, caused by the misfortunes of the army, and of his country.

The intelligence of our disasters spreading through the Republic with that rapidity with which bad news always is carried, destroyed the flattering hopes entertained of a triumph. The supreme government, whose inconsiderate dispositions had contributed effectually to this fatal result, which was deplored, desired to throw the whole responsibility upon General Arista. It deprived him of the command of the army, and submitted his conduct to a court-martial. On the 3d of July he received the order of dismissal, and by virtue of it turned over the army into the hands of General D. Francisco Mejía.

In this manner terminated what we may call the first part of the campaign. The army was detained in Linares, waiting for reinforcements, so requisite to carry on the war, and to check the advances of the enemy. Its hopes were fallacious. A new disgrace overturned the unhappy Government, which will be remembered with shame. The forces did not arrive in sufficient numbers, nor at the proper time; and the army, whose conduct they then began to strongly censure, remained discouraged, a victim to a series of errors truly incomprehensible.

CHAPTER III.

MONTEREY.*

AFTER the painful retreat from Matamoros, and in recovering from its heavy misfortunes, and mighty evils without number, the remnant of the unlucky army of Palo Alto and the Resaca de Guerrero was stationed at Linares. In the beginning of July, 1846, certain intelligence was received at this place that the enemy were preparing to penetrate into the interior of the country.

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* This name of Monterey has afforded food for speculation as to its meaning, and an incentive to research for its origin. A few observations on this, as well as on Mexican names in general, may possibly be pardonable in a note. Some, in their exercises on Spanish philology, suppose that this city derived its name from its locality, in the vicinity of a high range of hills, and that it signifies monte-rey, king mountain. This is a bad rule to follow in Castilian, however safe it may be in an English nomenclature. Furthermore, they do not call the eminences in that neighborhood mountains, but cerros. This word has no exact synonym in our language. It means, however, a high, abrupt, and short elevation. The word spur, when with us applied to a mountain, conveys a signification not unlike it. But as there are very few if any cerros in our country, it is difficult to describe it by a resemblance to any known place.

Monterey derives its name from a Spanish Viceroy of Mexico, the Conde de Monterey. He was appointed to that office about the year 1599 or 1600. He was one of the most energetic and intelligent of the royal deputies. In the year 1602, in obedience to instructions from the Council of the Indies, he established the first colony in the province of New Leon, and the capital, in consequence, received its appellation from the title of its patron. In this manner its antiquity can be ascertained, and so far it is of some importance.

As the same name occurs in California, it may be for this reason interesting to state that it was called after the same viceroy. In that memorable year of

GENERAL AMPUDIA.

Ackermans lith 120 Fulton S^{t} N.Y.

As soon as General Arista had arrived at Linares, and a short time before relinquishing the command, he directed the section of engineers to march under the orders of Lieut. Colonel Zuloaga, and the battalion of Sappers under Lieut. Colonel D. Mariano Reyes, to Monterey, for the purpose of undertaking some works of fortification in that place.

1602, the Conde de Monterey fitted out the first Spanish naval exploring expedition to Upper California. This consisted of three ships commanded by Viscaino, a Portuguese, who was said to have been on the same coast before, in the only ship that had navigated the unknown sea.

When the colony departed from the metropolis by land for New Leon, Captain Viscaino went to Acapulco, and sailed with the fleet to the coast beyond the Vermillion Sea or Gulf of Cortes. Instead of keeping far into the ocean, as is now done, he steered along the shore, and thus met the head winds blowing from the north-west. But to this are we indebted for the names of almost all the capes, bays, harbors, channels, islands, and mountains along the coast of the Californias.

Upon his nautical log-book he named the days on which any notable place was seen, and, as a good catholic, the patron saint for each day was also mentioned along with the date. Thus he discovered a harbor near Cape St. Lucas, to which he gave the name for this reason of Santa Barbara. In like manner the other saints were respectively remembered. In this way it can be ascertained at what season and on what particular day each place was first discovered.

There were a few exceptions, however. Being detained on the coast of Lower California for weeks, by adverse head winds, the ships had for ever in sight its high Sierra. It became a very unwelcome object at last, and from its association with their troublesome storms, they named it the Enfado, the vexation, which it still bears. San Diego derives its appellation from the flag ship of Viscaino, which had been regularly baptized with that name. Monterey was in honor of the viceroy.

San Francisco was already known, having, in the former voyage, been looked into by Mendozino; and, being on that saint's day, it was so entered on his log. Thus it will be perceived that the priests did not participate in giving these names, and thus is explained the frequent repetition of the saints.

In the interior of Mexico, the names of places are derived from some

General Mejía, upon whom the command devolved, was afflicted with a severe illness, and for that reason determined, on the 9th of July, to march the troops, which was done under the orders of General D. Tomas Raquena.

At this time the picked army which we have seen straggling and suffering in its retreat from Matamoros to Linares, counted 1,800 men. Its morale had been attacked by a shameful dissension concerning its recent defeats. The rancorous enmities of the officers had found their way among the soldiers. The hasty change in the commands had influenced also the discontent, and the spectacle of the sick who were dragged after the army, and who seemed to be the victims of neglect and ingratitude, formed a collection which realized, in a horrible manner, a description of the pains and prospects of a Mexican soldier which these men afterwards felt in the persevering skill of General Scott.

The corps that marched out of Linares were of the infantry of the 1st regiment, the 2d Light, 4th and 10th of the line, and two companies of the 6th, the Actives of Mexico and of Morelia. Of the cavalry, the 7th, the 8th, and the Light. In artillery there were 13 pieces. General Morlet, with the Active Battalion of Puebla, and the battalion and company of the Guarda Costa of

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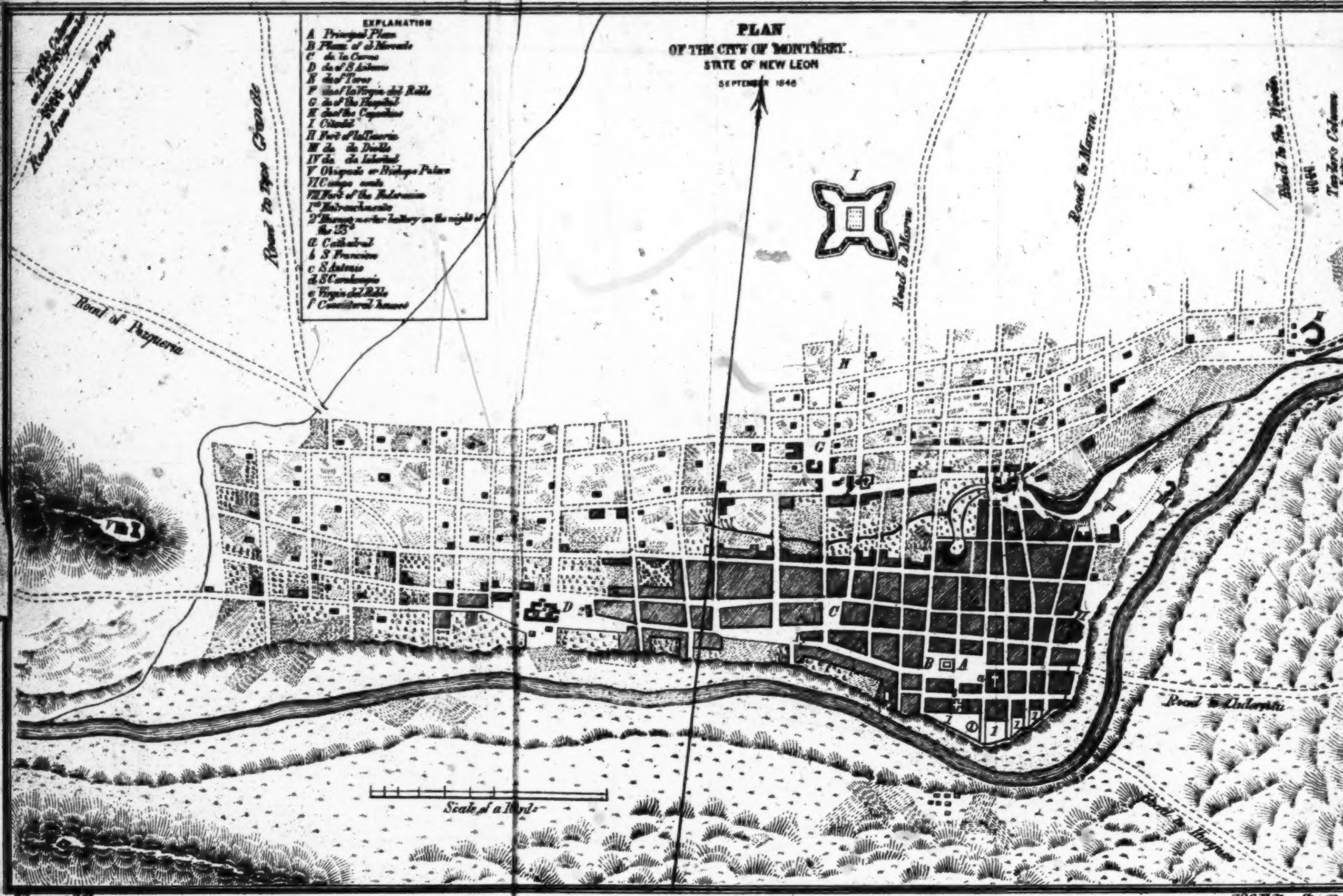
striking object, and, as each member of the church has some saint, as a good Christian, he displays an image of his patron conspicuously on his premises, in wax, wood, or other material, as large as life, dressed in rich stuffs, and adorned with glass beads, &c., according to the extent of his purse and piety. Nothing can exceed this attraction, and, being visible from the roadside to travellers, a rancho, or rancheria, obtains the name of its saint. Instead, therefore, of inquiring the distance to a place, they ask for the number of leagues to a saint. This subject might be pursued further. The works of Torquemada, a Franciscan priest of the seventeenth century, the travels of Venegas, of the same period, the letters of Captain Viscaino to the King, in Spanish, and the history of Clavijero de Californias may be consulted.—Am. Ed.



Ackermann's Lith. 120 Fulton Street

Tampico, marched on the same days to that port to reinforce the place.

From Linares the forces made their first day's march to the rancho of Encadenado, and from thence to the place in Monte Morelos, a smiling population of three thousand inhabitants. To these people we would call attention for their generous hospitality that they extended to the army, a hospitality which the soldiers of the north will remember with tender gratitude.

From Monte Morelos they pushed on to the Hacienda of the Conception, and to Cadereyta Jiminez, where they halted from the 12th to the 21st of July. At this point General Mejía joined the army, and decided to transfer the head-quarters to Monterey; consequently, all the forces were taken to that place, it now being evident that it was the destined object of the enemy.

Monterey, the capital of the frontier, is one of the most beautiful cities of the Republic, being situated in a fertile valley in the midst of the most lofty and picturesque mountains. Nature has displayed to it all her charms and vigor. The buildings of the city are sufficiently handsome. Houses of hewn stone, streets regularly intersecting, spacious plazas, and a cathedral church of magnificent architecture. A river, clear as crystal, flows on one side of the city, on whose borders there are romantic rural cottages, and gardens with thick foliage. The city from its first origin had enjoyed repose; even the civil revolutions had many times spared it, sacred to the frontier. After the misfortunes on the Rio Bravo, the whirlwind of war menaced it very closely, and the inhabitants anticipated the grievous and mournful conflict.

The fortifications which they had contemplated, and which they now undertook, are marked on the plan that accompanies this description, and consisted of a redoubt with bastions, 270 yards on a side, and encircled the unfinished building of a new cathedral.

Another was raised in La Teneria, a place beyond the walls of the city, upon the left bank of the River of Monterey. A work also was constructed further down, of the Cerro del Obispado; and lastly, the entrenchments on the east side were intrusted to the care of Colonel Carrasco, who was distinguished for his activity and unwonted industry: and he, as well as the whole section of engineers, fulfilled their duty.

This was in the beginning of the month of August. The soldiers worked like simple laborers. The officers inspired their efforts. The patriotic and enthusiastic population gave their means. Afterwards, D. Francisco Morales, the governor of the state of New Leon, residing in this city, competed in increasing the forces of the army, and in contributing in every way which the authority placed in his hands allowed. The news of the movement of General Taylor to Camargo redoubled the anxiety. But in the midst of these solemn preparations the intelligence of the pronunciamento of the 4th of August in Mexico was announced. Although some of the generals and other officers sympathized in it, yet there was still seen predominant in the army a generous and sensible feeling to prefer meeting the enemy from the exterior, a worthy action which they manifested without disguise in the junta of officers which was assembled with this motive in Monterey.

In this pronunciamento, as always happens, they were unmindful of the true interests of the nation. The effects of this were sensibly felt in Monterey. They appointed Ampudia governor-general-in-chief of the army of the North, and this appointment, for a thousand reasons impolitic, revived old misunderstandings, which displayed themselves in such manner that various officers wrote to Mexico, showing their discontent. The press denounced it as shameful, and vivid antipathies sprang up, which in the end were fatally 'rong.

To this moment General Mejía proposed realizing a project purely defensive, without hazarding absolutely anything, and awaiting the supplies on which he calculated. General Ampudia, coming with the troops that were at San Luis, the army exceeded

5000 men, with 32 pieces of artillery. He approved of the plan of his predecessor, practised careful examinations, recommended to the engineers, Reyes, Robees, and the other officers of that corps, to finish the fortifications, and complimented the better plan of Captain D. Francisco Segura, who made a reconnoissance of the road to the Rancho of Papagallos.

Before this, the auxiliaries of New Leon were posted in the hills of Alacranes. Colonel Uraga was in Cedereyta with a brigade of infantry, and the cavalry regiments of Guanajuato, and lancers of Jalisco. General Romero, with the body he commanded, was in Marin, awaiting the enemy.

Captain Segura, and American officers with 200 men, who had approached to make some examinations, met on the same day in Papagallos, at a quarter of a league from Alacranes. The cavalry there, who took no notice of this, permitted the enemy (singular politeness), in safety and without any trouble, to enter into the first mentioned place.

Whether it was in consequence of the information which he received from the Mexican officer, or because the forces which he had, were in his opinion capable of new and happy combinations, General Ampudia changed his plan. He decided to receive the invaders at Marin, by availing himself in the movement of his well appointed and numerous cavalry. In the event of a reverse he still had a point of defence in Monterey. The advantages which the country from Papagallos to Marin afforded and other circumstances confirmed his hopes.

With the object of adopting this plan, he called a junta, composed of the chiefs of brigade. In it he espoused this project, and it was perceived, that in Monterey, could be counted, beyond the corps already mentioned, the 3d and 4th Light, 3d of the line, the active battalions of Aguas Calientes, Querétaro, and S. Luis Potosi, of Infantry; and of cavalry, the 3d regiments of Guanajuato, San Luis, and Jalisco. General Mejía answered to the project of

Ampudia, that his brigade was ready and disposed to execute the orders which he should give. But the answers of the chiefs of brigade not being equally satisfactory frustrated and made him abandon the plan conceived.

The Americans concentrated in Cerralvo, and prepared to give a hard and sudden blow when our army was really without any plan of operations. General Ampudia assembled a junta of defence, the chief of the staff, General D. José Garcia Conde, presiding. It was agreed in it to prosecute the fortifications of the first line, and undertake those of the second or interior intrenchments, and to so distribute the work that all could labor with indefatigable strength.

On the 11th of September, the General-in-chief marched to Marin, to examine the ground for himself, disposed to unite at that point the corps of cavalry. After leaving his instructions with General Torrejon, of which to avail himself in the event of hostilities, he returned to Monterey, on the 12th, and Colonel Uraga with his brigade, having also done the same. The enemy, with their characteristic energy, threatened us from Cerralvo, with a strong indication of a quick advance every moment.

On our part, we were without a plan of operations, certainly, all undecided, and vacillating between projects, which were distrusted. On the 13th, another junta of the chiefs of brigade was called, to treat even on the defence of the place. This junta resulted in its being determined to abandon the works constructed between the Citadel and the mountain of the Obispado, continuing only those at the two places mentioned, and that of the Teneria. The other they reduced within the city. This occupied a new division of labors. This was now lost, physically and morally, in all these contradictions, and the impartial reader will already suppose so.

The enemy took up their march on the 14th. The auxiliary forces, after an insignificant skirmish, left the transit free to them from Alacranes to Marin. On the 15th, the Americans came on, and our cavalry forces, in presence of the enemy, evacuated the town and crossed the river. They also in pursuit, advanced to the rancho of Aguafria and encamped. Ours proceeded then at a prudent distance to a place called San Francisco.

As has been seen before, the enemy were almost at the gates of the city. Then it was thought to change the plan of defence, by agreeing to the entreaties of General D. Simeon Ramirez, and by destroying the redoubt of the Teneria, which before had been deemed important.

This dangerous vacillation of General Ampudia, and the antipathies which existed between him and the principal officers, destroyed confidence in one another. The bitter criticisms of these and other circumstances, which to our shame, the victorious enemy afterwards revealed, foretold a mournful future in this place. Moreover, the forces of this population and almost all the officers in subaltern stations, whose deportment was brilliant, and the troops, felt this unfortunate presentiment. In every way these events created a state of uncertain anxiety.

Thus in front an enemy proud of their victories, in the midst of fears which the situation produced, and with the information of our scandalous proceedings in Mexico, closed the night of the 15th; a night, when our most tender recollections of the independence and home were revived. The military bands announced the solemn hour in which our existence, as a nation, was proclaimed. All bowed to the sentiment of patriotism, and in raising their minds to enthusiasm forgot everything around, and desired the combat for revenge and for glory.

The enemy on the morning of the 16th remained in the same position, and our cavalry in observation. The city assumed the severe and imposing aspect of a place of war. The silent presentiment of the coming strife began to be felt.

The families which till this time had not emigrated, now abandoned in haste, their homes in fear and trembling, and shedding tears for their kindred; the youth was sustaining the steps of the tremulous aged, and the affectionate father bearing in his arms his children. The scenes of grief, of tenderness and disinterested generosity increased on all sides, and the suffering inhabitants, who owed so little to the opulent and disdainful Mexico, now sacrificed everything to it. They offered themselves as a sublime expiation for all our crimes, that the flag should not profane our capital which has floated over the palace of the Moctezumas. This solitary appearance of a city waiting for a combat, those only who have already seen it can comprehend. But it is beyond all description.

The American army, on the 17th, still continued at Aguafria, without advancing. But, in consequence of their preparations to attack, our cavalry was reinforced by the 7th regiment under General Jáuregui, and marched to join Torrejon.

Some parties of auxiliaries on the same day entered the city.

On the morning of the 18th, between ten and eleven o'clock, our cavalry returned to the city, for the enemy had occupied San Francisco. The General-in-chief ordered them to take post on the slope of the mountain of the Obispado.

A conducta with 28,000 dollars was received on the same day from Mexico, which was distributed among the army, and alleviating their painful wants.

Our advance had a skirmish with the enemy on the morning of the 19th, and retreated into the place as the latter presented themselves in front. The sound of the generala beat upon the drums was at once heard. The troops ran to arms: the citizens issued forth armed from their houses, directing their steps, with enthusiasm, to the place threatened. The women and children ran terrified, mingling their screams and mournings with the martial notes of the bugles, the high vivas, the loud confused noise of the troops, and the inspiriting sounds of the bands of the corps.

The columns of the enemy advanced to near the Citadel, where they received some shot from our cannon, but not answering it, limiting their operations to practising some light reconnoissance. They then retired to the wood of Santo Domingo; a point about a league distant from the city, where they fixed their head-quarters.

In these critical moments, and we call attention to the fact, another plan of defence was all the while thought of. This night the redoubt of the Teneria was ordered to be repaired, a work that had cost a month of labor, and which was made serviceable in a few hours, by the worthy captain, D. Luis Robles, with an energy that merits being remembered.

From Saltillo a convoy of provisions and 8,000 dollars were received.

On the morning of the 20th it was supposed that a party of the American cavalry had approached the mountain of the Obispado on the night before, and in their vicinity had taken some prisoners. Thereupon two hundred dragoons were detached to this place to check a new attempt. The enemy occupied the town of Guadaloupe, upon the road to Cadareyta, and parties of their cavalry swept the vicinity of the city on the north, with the object of protecting the reconnoissance of their engineers.

The evening came on, and a column of the enemy was seen to move, that of General Worth, with wagons and artillery, and to take the road of Topo. This movement clearly indicated that the object was to take possession of the Saltillo road, and to cut off all communication with the interior of the country. This operation was observed from the city, and the General-in-chief made the cavalry who were posted in the Jagüey march to the point where the roads of Topo and Saltillo unite. In this anxiety passed the night.

On the following morning, at six o'clock, the hostile column with six pieces undertook the march, and rushed boldly upon our cavalry. At the beginning of this light skirmish the commander of the lancers of Jalisco, D. Juan Najera fell dead; a charge was ordered, and the commander of the regiment of Guanajuata D. Mariano Moret directed it. The fifty dragoons who followed him, scattered over the field. Then he, unslinging his lance and drawing his sword, alone and wounded, dashed in with intrepidity, and came up to the Americans at their very pieces, and afterwards retired in tranquil security. The enemy themselves respected his audacity, not spending even a shot upon him in his retreat. When he returned to the city, covered with dust, and his valiant sword dripping with blood, his comrades burst forth in applause, whilst he, with modesty, showed that true merit is humble, and that heroism shuns impudence and vanity!!*

As soon as the brigade of General Worth, which we have mentioned, destined to intercept the Saltillo road, commenced engaging our cavalry, the General-in-chief ordered General Garcia Conde, with two pieces of artillery, and the battalion of Aguas Calientes, to march rapidly and to reinforce it. He was to place himself in communication, and with General Torrejon to practise the requisite movements. But Garcia Conde had just started when he received another order from the same quarter, to return to the city with the pieces and battalion. The last was detached to the bridge of the Purísima, where the enemy furiously attacked.

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* It is to be regretted that this feat of gallantry has not been told with the usual art. It is decidedly inferior to the skill abounding in that country in the happy faculty of romancing. Their adventures can generally be narrated with so much regard to time, place, and circumstance as to bear a strong resemblance to truth, if not actually to put that homely virtue to the blush. But this is an unfortunate exception.

How this valiant cavalier could unsling his lance, draw his sword, and hold his bridle rein at the same time, is not sufficiently explained to the comprehension of people having a less number of hands than Briareus.

It is something new, also, to learn that lancers use their swords, and as there does not seem to have been any actual combat hand to hand with the Americans, it may hereafter be an important point to know where the blood came from. If it had been on his lance head, it might easily have been attributed to his spearing some unfortunate, wounded, defenceless soldier, whom he met bleeding and dying on the field. That species of valor was always the safety-valve for these lancers' courage, and it was the height of their ambition, as well as of their success, to make war where sympathy would have been more honorable. It certainly had safety to recommend it.

The astonishment of the Americans must have been immense which induced them to hold their fire. Moret was undoubtedly fortunate in not being mistaken for a Mexican who by accident, or from a fractious mustang, or from potent aguardiente, had found himself in this perilous vicinity. It was not usual for them to be sparing of cartridges when a good aim could be had at a lancer. In fact this is the only instance to the contrary. His story stands, however, uncontradicted, and with a little improvement would be as good as the truth.

This may probably be one of the "inconsistencies" alluded to in the introduction of this work.—Am. Ed.

In this action the cavalry of Romano was cut to pieces, and the stragglers returned to the city by the cañon of San Pedro. The Americans, now masters of the Saltillo road, launched rapidly upon the feeble detachment situated in the hills fronting the Obispado. They gained two pieces, and waved their victorious flag over the small fort of the Federacion.

While this happened at the advanced posts to the west, there broke forth to the north-east a vivid flash of musketry and artillery on the points of the line of General Mejía. A rude, sustained, and desperate shock took place in the redoubt of the Teneria, whose limited garrison, with only 4 pieces, was multiplied by their glowing heroism. The attacks were renewed. The impulse of the invader was vehement. The General-in-chief sent the 3d Light to reinforce us. The enemy came close upon the work when we had not now one cartridge for the cannon. The assault was plain, but a reinforcement came up, sending to the Lieut.-Colonel of the 3d Light to sally forth and charge the enemy. The word to handle the bayonet was answered by enthusiastic vivas, to form column and then . . . . The parties say, and different witnesses do not satisfactorily deny it for this officer, with whose name we do not wish to defile these pages, that rushing out through the gorget of the work, he threw himself into the river, taking to flight among cries of indignation and scorn. By the desertion of the chief of the Light, the enemy took the Teneria. Our soldiers retreated to the point of the *Rincon del*

Diabolo, the Devil's Corner, within musket range of the Teneria, whence they made a courageous resistance, distinguishing among others the Lieut.-Colonel D. Calisto Bravo, and Captain Arenal of the artillery. Finally, General Mejía was posted at the bridge of the Purísima. There revived the sanguinary contest, which was tenaciously prolonged with great carnage. When all the ammunition was exhausted, they asked General Mejía for the park, who answered that it was *not necessary* while they had bayonets. This reply was received with vivas of applause, and they increased their activity. The enemy on their side, excited and strong, fought in the presence of General Taylor, who assisted in the strife. Finally, an impulse seized upon us, our soldiers leaped the parapets, and as Tyrtæus said in exhorting the Greeks, breast to breast, arm to arm, confounded and frantic ours charged; and over the ground they had gained, and over the dead bodies of the enemy, and amid the vapor of their foul reeking blood, arose to heaven the victorious cry of "Viva Mexico."

The brave men who gained this laurel, under the orders of General Mejía, were 300 soldiers of Aguascalientes and Quarétaro, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Ferro, and commander of battalion, D. José Maria Herrera. The deportment of the artillery of D. Patricio Gutierrez was brilliant. The enemy, after having lost about 1000 men in this attack, withdrew to the wood of San Domingo, leaving some pieces and a small detachment in the Teneria.

The Americans having fallen back, General Mejía believing a charge of cavalry proper, made it known to the General-in-chief, who sent 20 men. Mejía said this force was too small. Then General Garcia Conde was ordered with the 3d and 7th, who were in the place, to charge the enemy in the rear, by the way of the new cathedral. Garcia Conde led the corps to the point where he should charge, and there the third alone entered into action, lancing more than 50 men of various partisan enemies, and afterwards withdrew to the city.

The fortifications of the place were continued, and General Romero, with his brigade of cavalry, went forth from it to attack the enemy.

The Americans at dawn, on the 22d, reached the west peak of the highest mountain of the Obispado, surprising 70 men of the 4th Light who defended it, against the predictions and assurances of General Garcia Conde, who had insisted that it was inaccessible. The enemy brought up artillery, and opened their fire from this point and that of the Federacion, upon the work of the Obispado, which Lieut.-Colonel D. Francisco Berra defended with 200 men and 3 pieces of artillery.

The commander sent some guerrillias to proceed beyond the works, and check the enemy. General Ampudia ordered that 50 dragoons, dismounted, should assist Berra, a singular order, for the column of reserve remained inactive within the place. Our guerrillias finally repelled the enemy, aided by a small reinforcement of 50 cavalry, whom General Torrejon commanded. The Americans with intrepidity detached three columns upon the disputed work, and charged with confidence, while ours, overpowered by the number, fell back in disorder, without the fortifications being able to shelter them, which now only fired from the city. It was 4 o'clock in the evening when the enemy, in their high spirits, approached the work. The soldiers in their hurry, full of fright, descended and penetrated to the interior of the place, spreading terror, when issued out a tardy reinforcement, of the battalion of the Sappers and 1st of the line, to the Obispado.

Our communications with Saltillo remained then absolutely cut off.

This unlucky event infused a silent fear which comes before defeat. With few exceptions the officers of corps felt this, infecting the General-in-chief himself, who was not endowed with despatch and energy. The possessors and disseminators of these sensations we are acquainted with, but whose names from shame we hastily dismiss, without comment. An order was sent to concentrate the army in the interior line, by abandoning all the works more advanced at the north, east, and west, and still preserving only a few to the south, on the bank of the river, at seventy yards from the principal place.

These dispositions were executed at eleven at night, in the midst of a noisy confusion, arising from the troops refusing to abandon their positions without fighting. The grumbling and discontent showed themselves openly, and the military morale suffering by it in a manner beyond description. There remained one hundred and fifty men advanced to the west, and in the approaches to the mountain of the Obispado, and in the citadel a garrison of five hundred under Colonel Uraga.

On the commencement of the 23d it was supposed that the enemy's force, situated in the mountain of the Obispado, had been considerably reinforced, with infantry and artillery, occupying the Quinta de Arista, Campo Santo, and other contiguous positions.

At the points that we had abandoned in the night, in the midst of frightful disorder, soldiers might be seen still remaining, through carelessness or laziness, drunk, discharging their pieces in the air, committing excesses, and giving a clear idea of the want of concert which prevailed.

General Ampudia issued from the cathedral, where he had established his head-quarters, remained during the action, and repaired the entrenchments.

In the city they labored with eager anxiety in the works undertaken, topping the azoteas with sacks, and piercing various houses at the time when the enemy from the Teneria and the hills to the south attacked it, with the battery which was established at the first point and a piece stationed in the hills mentioned.

At ten in the morning the enemy occupied the posts deserted the night before, and at eleven invested with firmness, generalizing their fire which grew warm to the very houses on the principal plaza. At this time, sublime as the heroines of Sparta and of Rome, and beautiful as the tutelar deities of Grecian sculpture, the Señorita Doña Maria Josefa Zozaya, in the house of Sr. Garza Flores, presented herself among the soldiers who fought on the azotea, to give them food and ammunition, and to teach them how to despise danger. The beauty and rank of this young lady communicated new attractions; it was requisite to conquer to admire her, or to perish before her eyes to be made worthy of her smiles. She was a lovely personation of the country itself. She was the beau-ideal of heroism in all her movements, and with all her tender fascination.

The attack ceased at half past one in the afternoon, for a rest, and at four it was with greater violence renewed. A heavy column with a piece of artillery descended now at a fearful rate from the mountain of the Obispado, dividing to take the two roads which led from this point to the city. The windings of the streets by which the invaders approached, impeded the use of artillery, but still the column joined in an intrepid conflict. Both sides fought bravely, the enemy attempting to pierce the houses, and thus penetrate to the entrenchments.

This audacity roused the strength of our troops who disdained fighting under shelter, climbed the parapets boldly, and in provoking the enemy challenged certain death. Others more cool, more cautious, and manageable, gave them a destructive fire from the drains and apertures in the houses.

It had been ordered to the subaltern officers down to the captains to fight like simple soldiers, and they put on the equipments without a murmur. Taking muskets in their hands, they inspired an ardent and generous emulation; each officer desirous of distinction for his courage, and purchasing with his blood the laurel of gallantry.

The enemy have said, what forms a shameful contrast to this, of the conduct of our generals at Monterey. We confine ourselves to saying that the chiefs and officers dispersed after overcoming difficulties of all kinds, and the generals, with the exception of those whom we have honorably mentioned, suffered in the contempt of their enemies a severe chastisement probably deserved.

The action ceased in the night, and the enemy threw some bombs from the Plazuela de la Carne.

Many whom we do not wish to mention, urged the General-in-chief to solicit a capitulation. The commanding general of artillery, who exercised great influence in all the events at Monterey from his high favor with Ampudia, supported these suggestions.

Brevet Colonel-Captain D. Francisco R. Moreno left at three in the morning for the camp of General Taylor to solicit a parley on our part.

The humiliation then felt is indescribable. What barren sacrifices! What heroic burlesque! What safe and triumphant cowardice!

General Taylor, in suspending hostilities, answered that our troops should evacuate the place, and promise not to take arms for the future against the United States.

General Ampudia assembled a junta of chiefs of brigade and of corps. When he was about to submit to it the resolution of the enemy, it was announced that General Worth had come to treat with our General-in-chief. General Ampudia had in consequence an interview with him. Worth proposed to him, that our troops should evacuate the city, without any stipulations more than that the officers should keep their swords, and the troops laying down their arms. Ampudia enraged, and perhaps repenting of his weakness, protested solemnly, if he had nothing else to offer, he should be first buried under the ruins of the city. Worth then intimated that he would then return to General Taylor, and arrange some terms. The second interview resulted in the capitulation, in which the commissioners were the Generals Raquena and Garcia Conde, and D. Manuel Maria del Llano, a capitulation which, with cutting irony, was called honorable. This was, that the army should retain their arms and baggage, a battery of 6 pieces, ammunition for 24 rounds each, one supply of cartridges for the boxes, and the rest of the materiel to be given up to the Americans, who agreed on their part not to pass the line of the Muertos, Linares, and Victoria, for six months, in which time efforts would be diligently made to accomplish a peace.

On the same day, at eleven o'clock, our troops evacuated the citadel, in front of a column of the enemy commanded by General Smith. Our forces struck their flag, a salute sounded from the ordnance, and our banner fell degraded, in the enemy giving to it the honors of war. The troops of Smith took possession of this fortress in hoisting their standard, which the victors hailed with *hurras* of delight, while ours were overwhelmed with humiliation and grief. Our forces were lodged in the eastern part of the city, not having saved more than their personal effects and 6 pieces of artillery.

Thus terminated the defence of Monterey. The simple relation of the events will excuse us from all commentary. The judgment of the sensible part of the nation will approve this course.

When the difficulties of a contemporaneous description are removed, the impartial pen of the historian will mark this affair in his severe book, and referring to these transactions, will reveal some names to infamy. But it cannot be done at this time in the partial language of passion, and after the army has purified our country from these stains, it may return the chalice of ignominy to this place.

The 1st brigade marched on the 25th from Monterey to Saltillo, along with two bodies of cavalry and the General-in-chief. The remainder followed the day after.

When the inhabitants of Monterey saw the last of the Mexican army depart, they could not resolve to remain among the enemy, and many of them abandoning their houses and business, carrying their children, and followed by their wives, travelled on foot behind the troops. Monterey was converted into a vast cemetery. The unburied bodies, the dead and putrid mules, the silence of the streets, all gave a fearful aspect to this city.

The forces uniting in Saltillo, waited the dispositions of the government, to whom by an express the capitulation was sent. In the beginning of October an order was transmitted for the troops to withdraw to San Luis Potosi. The army and the people breathed deep indignation at the mention of this, and Ampudia sent an officer in his confidence to lay before the government these circumstances; but on the same day that the officer started from Saltillo, two commissioners arrived with orders to the contrary. This news was hailed with enthusiasm; however, on the succeeding day another was received, persisting in the first determination for the troops to march to San Luis.

Finally, it was arranged for the withdrawal of the brigades successively. A scarcity of everything marked in misery the wants of the army, notwithstanding the patriotic contributions of the inhabitants on the route.

Thus, after an undeserved defeat, and a humiliating, painful retreat, what remained of our troops reached San Luis at the end of October. These formed the base of a new army, which was organised in this city, and which was ready, as we shall see, to fight bravely at the Angostura.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARMY AT SAN LUIS POTOSI.

When the army of General Taylor prepared to march upon Monterey, when the news of its being threatened came to Mexico, and a new disgrace was about to fall on our arms, the aspect of internal affairs had completely changed. The administration of Paredes was overturned, the direction of the war went into other hands, and this was a fatality that made them turn their eyes to other days less unfortunate.

The revolution of August had brought back General Santa Anna from exile. He was seen to enter in triumph the versatile capital, which, in 1844, had shut her gates upon him with execrations. When all observed that he would do no more than avail himself of the command to indulge in his pleasures, it was perceived that he gave proofs of denial or dexterity which no one had expected, which many feared, and which many desired. Santa Anna knew his position, and judiciously placed power in persons easily managed. He did not hesitate to follow up his written representations, made on his landing at Vera Cruz, of his disinterestedness and patriotism, by which he imagined would be forgotton his former inconsistencies and errors. Retiring to Tacubaya, he affected not to mingle in public affairs, and only to occupy himself in arranging an expedition which he proposed marching to the North.

This expedition was to be organized with the forces which Paredes had detained in the capital for the support of his administration, and which only served to precipitate the pronunciamento of the citadel. Moreover, the want of resources created obstacles difficult to be overcome, causing the different corps that composed the garrison to remain in Mexico, notwithstanding orders anticipating the march had been given. Truth requires that we must reveal the causes of the scarcity which at this time the treasury felt, the more so, since the public always believed, and with reason, that sufficient funds existed. During the last month of the administration of Paredes, and in consequence of the reverses suffered by our troops on the other side of the Rio Bravo, it was agreed to organize the same expedition, which afterwards Santa Anna had resolved upon. To realize it, pecuniary resources were wanting, and a contract was accordingly made with the church for $1,000,000, which sum was estimated as being more than sufficient for the division that should march from Mexico. The state of internal politics, and the fear, above all, of abandoning his prey, detained Paredes in this city, while the Congress, which elected him President *ad interim*, in June, had given already the permission for him to march from Mexico with the forces that were in garrison, and to place himself at the head of the troops of the North. This delay began to consume without profit, to a certain extent, the loan from the clergy, which being for the most part wasted, obliged Paredes at last to take the forces, and relinquish the government at the end of July, for the purpose of exercising the permission of Congress. Then he made payments for the march to all the corps, to all the officers and chiefs, with which, a few days after, they flew to the citadel, to proclaim a new revolution, stimulated by the hopes of gain in a new revolt, and assisted by the very money that ought to have served to march to Monterey. That of the citadel at last consumed the proceeds of the church loan, for in the time of triumph the money destined for the national war was scattered by the handful to cover the expenses of the revolution. Infamous intrigues, to which we owe principally the unfortunate issue of our contest at the North!

Very insignificant sums remained of these funds, and in the middle of September, there were great difficulties to be overcome to procure money. In the midst of this conflict, news was received in Mexico of the approach of the enemy to Monterey.

Santa Anna, as it was understood at the time, opposed the plans of resistance which Ampudia had decided to offer, in a place not considered by him strong or defensible. He manifested considerable anger, he accelerated the preparation for his march, and in September moved out for San Luis the division which was the balance of the army that had remained in the capital, with pay and provisions for eight days only. Such were the pecuniary obstacles, and such was the insignificant quantity of money remaining of the sum negotiated and shamefully squandered of the church million! Santa Anna followed after the division. Twelve leagues from Mexico he received the unlucky news of the fall of Monterey, and irritated still more by this disaster, which he had anticipated, he hastened his march, seeming to be desirous of chastising those who had not known how to profit by the defences of the place and the enthusiasm of the troops, and on the 14th of October entered San Luis with the division.

The first care of Santa Anna in San Luis, was to separate Ampudia from the command of the forces of Monterey, and to send him before a court-martial. As soon as Ampudia saw this crushing tempest coming upon him he tried to throw the responsibility upon the subordinate officers, by accusing them beforehand, as implicated by the events at Monterey. These were Colonels D. Simeon Ramirez, D. Antonio, Jáuregui, D. Nicolas Enciso, D. José Maria Carrasco, and Lieut.-Colonels D. Joaquin Castro, D. Luis Ramirez, D. Juan Fernandez, and Commanders D. Mariano Huerta, D. José María Beña, and D. Manuel Landeras, who were also subjected to a trial for their conduct.

Afterwards it was ordered to stop these proceedings, when they were discussed in a council of war composed of general officers. In consequence of, and in conformity with the argument of the fiscal, and the opinion of the auditor, Santa Anna decided there were not grounds for a prosecution, and directed that in the general orders a vindication should be published of the majority of the officers accused.

It was believed at this time that Taylor in his movement on Saltillo had ulterior views directed to San Luis, and the apprehensions in consequence induced Santa Anna to think immediately of fortifying this city. He sent General Mora y Villamil and the officers of engineers to make the requisite examinations, which being done, the labor was commenced in the little towns of Santiago and Tlascala, situated to the north of the city. On the southern side and in the sanctuary of Guadalupe, the construction of a citadel was commenced, a work not finished, but which in his plan was deemed capable of a vigorous defence. All these works were begun with the greatest activity. The laborers came together pleased and disinterested, the operatives from the neighboring haciendas and the Indians from all their villages. The enthusiasm among them was great. When the fortifications of Santiago and Tlascala were decided upon, it was perceived that to undertake them it would be requisite to tear down houses, fruit trees, and destroy gardens, the only property and possessions of their miserable inhabitants. But this being resolved upon, and when they watched for the natural resistance which would happen when they saw their only fortune destroyed in a few moments, it was observed with surprise, that they themselves assisted in annihilating their poor patrimony. What a contrast between this conduct and that of the opulent residents of the capitals, who, indifferent and selfish, have witnessed the national disgraces. No less worthy of eulogy was the patriotism of the inhabitants of San Luis, who at the price of painful sacrifices brought afterwards numerous supplies in provisions, and assistance of all kinds that could be procured for the army, drawing them in the evenings in their wagons in the midst of inspiriting music, vivas, and enthusiastic applause.

The energy with which the works were undertaken, slackened soon into an incredible indifference. It ceased altogether when the apprehensions vanished of a march by Taylor upon San Luis.

Attention therefore was directed exclusively to the army. There were found 7,000 men assembled in San Luis; 7,000 men whose discipline by the past reverses required new strength. A part of these, moreover, was composed of men forced to take arms by the fatal system of levies, from which alone it followed that in the moment of danger these would disband and desert, as had occurred various times in this war. These were also raw recruits with whom instruction was a primary necessity. Besides the increase was requisite to cover the losses of the corps, and to newly organize others, which would elevate these forces to the rank of an army capable of undertaking new battles by forgetting past disasters. A powerful force only could supply these essentials, and impartiality obliges us to confess that Santa Anna if he did not evince the energy which might have been desired, neither did he take any steps that were improper or erroneous.

On the other hand, without the efficient co-operation of the States, nothing could be done, and the army would have been reduced every day to a small body, if the contingent for loss in battle had not absolutely covered it. Moreover, all the States did not participate in any flattering hopes, and screened themselves under an engagement that they should be saved from all its inconveniences. Justice requires, however, that we should mention that some of those to whom the formation of the army is due fought in the Angostura. Jalisco, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Querétaro, Aguascaliéntes, the Federal District, and San Luis, were the only States which during the months of November, December, and January, had sent their respective portions of the contingent. To the others nothing is due. To some it was impossible in their position where they had to ask for aid to hold and repel invasion from their own territory, and to others from causes of which we are ignorant, but which in no way can be supposed to have been otherwise than faithful and patriotic.

The nakedness of the army and its want of instruction demanded that these subjects should have his first attention, and the General-in-chief devoted his time to them exclusively. But Santa Anna never followed this throughout, while his attention was divided between his duties and ambition; for he did not lose sight of the contest of the parties in the capital.

The revolution of August had raised to power the party of the *exaltado*, which has since been known by the name of the *puro*. This in its movement was led by a man with ideas absolutely opposed to theirs, but whom circumstances alone obliged them to support at their side in the dispensing of the supreme power in preference to a champion of their own opinions. On the contrary, the opposition party was already known in these days by the name of the *moderado*. It was important that General Salas, elevated to the height of power, and now placed between the parties, should say to which his ideas would be the most acceptable. The *exaltados*, who although on one subject distrusted him, consoled themselves, nevertheless, by judging that Salas was always under the influence of Santa Anna, whom they believed entirely converted to their principles. This was not without foundation, since he maintained with them an active correspondence from San Luis, in the belief that it was the party the more flattering to his pretensions. With such support they desired to reach Salas by violent means. But he gave them a proof of his independence, by throwing them off and declaring openly for the *moderados*. The *puros*, not disconcerted entirely by this defeat, still trusted in the flattering promises of Santa Anna. But what was their surprise when, in a few days after the change of the ministers in October, his approbation was received in Mexico of all that Salas had done! In their indignation, there was no injury or insult in their power which they did not bestow on these chiefs. The secret correspondence that they had with Santa Anna, was published, which left him sufficiently compromised.

His partisans had apprehended that the change of politics in Mexico would not have for an object only the fall of the *puro* party, but that there would be also a declaration of silent war against the General-in-chief of the army of San Luis. To cover every unforeseen blow they laid conveniently their plans, which resulted in two events happening at this period. The first was a decree published by the Governor of San Luis, in which it was provided that in case any overthrow should occur in the capital, they would not obey any other orders or recognise any other authority than that of Santa Anna. The pronunciamento for a dictator, by this leader, made in Mazatlan at the instance of General D. Ventura Mora, was the second of these affairs to which we have alluded.

At the time being in concert with the *puro* party, Santa Anna entered into relations with the *moderado* from his coming to Mexico, and from San Luis maintained an equivocal correspondence with the heads of both, by which he thought to pave the way for after events.

Mexico at this period was the focus of exaggerations the most dangerous; and the "*meetings*" and the support that the cabinet afforded to the ideas, which were discussed in them, would have overwhelmed it in the most horrible disasters, if the population had been delivered over entirely to the rabble whom they had trusted with arms in August. But the instinct of self-preservation saved them. In September a regulation of the National Guard was published as one of the guarantees of the revolution of the Citadel, and the *exaltados* who then governed, determined to give it an effect entirely conformable to their wishes by depriving from all participation in it certain classes agreed upon. Partly from the spirit of opposition, which at this time they had furiously invoked, partly from a feeling of patriotism, which seemingly commenced to crave war with the United States, and partly from the instinct of self-preservation, as we have said the classes whom it was agreed upon to exclude from the National Guard felt themselves called upon to arm. With the aid of many persons and of President Salas himself, who in this placed himself in open opposition to his minister, is due the formation of the corps of Victoria, of Hidalgo, Independencia, and Bravos. The first of these was composed of young men, the most wealthy; the second of clerks, and the other two of mechanics of the capital. These battalions then saved Mexico from great horrors, and assisted the cause of the war, giving a garrison to the capital while the balance of the army was concentrated at San Luis.

Such was the state of things when in this city the reorganization of the army was commenced. The pecuniary supplies, the first requisite which the government ought to supply, were distributed, if not in abundance, at least sufficiently in the months of November and December to have covered the estimates for the army. The actual scarcity did not commence until January, in which month Salas had been substituted already for Farias in the Presidency.

In the middle of November Colonels Perdigon Garay, and Montengo, arrived at San Luis, with 2,000 men of Guadalajara, composed of regular troops, and one corps of National Guards; and in December and January the substitutes should have entered from the States above-mentioned. At the close of November General Valencia came with the auxiliary troops of Guanajuato. This General had left Mexico in September for the purpose of collecting and organizing the same forces. Upon his arriving at Bajío he met those towns, well disposed, to assist efficiently in the national defence, of which disposition he availed himself and organized the forces which, under the name of the Auxiliaries of Guanajuato, were incorporated into the army of San Luis.

We must not omit to mention in this place the praise bestowed on these forces, with which the conduct very little worthy of other populations, formed a shameful contrast. General Valencia labored incessantly to carry to the army a considerable force, and the state of Guanajuato gave then proofs of patriotism by no means common. For not content with contributing the contingent corresponding to her portion, she formed from among her inhabitants a section of more than 5,000 men, a number which exceeded what legally could have been required.

Santa Anna, who knew the first essential of this army was instruction, being composed for the most part of recruits, ordered that they should arrange daily exercises. San Luis now, although they continued but slowly the work upon the fortifications, presented the appearance of a place of war, in which nothing was heard except the martial sound of drums and bugles, the words of command, and the instruction in arms and horses. The exercises were ordered by brigades, and the emulation displayed contributed to the rapid progress which they made.

It is believed, besides, that constant attention which influences powerfully in the morale and discipline of a soldier, did not relax, as it might have very easily in the time that the army remained at San Luis. But the activity of the work precluded absolutely the entrance of the vices of idleness. However, in the midst of this undertaking, a necessity each day was felt the more urgent, which was that of ordnance of all kinds. The considerable loss of arms in the late defeats and dispersions had diminished the number of arms so much, that the recruits who had arrived were without them. This want was not yet supplied throughout, from the scarcity of funds in the government of the Union, and from the indifference and selfishness with which a great number of the states of the Federation had witnessed this contest. It is a fact that they sent some arms, but these were never sufficient to cover the demand for them. The General-in-chief felt this, and at the same time the impossibility to provide for the deficiency while the limited means of the army permitted no money to be diverted, even for an object of this importance.

Again, in the nakedness which the recruits and auxiliaries presented arose another want no less imperative, which was that of clothing. This was the more urgent since the rigor of the season began already to be felt sensibly, and it was considered that, perhaps, it would be indispensable in advancing to points at which the winter is always raw. To this end it was ordered that shops should be established, and that with all speed they should work at clothing and other necessary articles for the equipment of the soldiers.

This attention of Santa Anna to the reorganization of the army might have been his most glorious page if he had permitted no levity to thwart it. The position of General Taylor, and the operations of his army, ought to have engrossed his mind, leaving to other officers the care of having his orders punctually fulfilled. But he did not desire to elevate his thoughts as high as his position of General-in-chief placed him, and he therefore descended to occupy himself with extraneous matters and subjects merely of detail. Night after night he assembled juntas of officers at his residence, and while they waited for what would have for its object the discussion of some plan of the campaign in view of some operations of the enemy, he did not enter into that, but into the economy of some corps, as if for this the whole apparatus of a reunion of officers were necessary. The marked preference, moreover, which Santa Anna had for certain corps produced prejudices in others, and his placing them on a brilliant footing, and gratifying all their desires, when many of them were wanting things, even the most urgent and indispensable, contributed also. At this the subalterns began to murmur, and the prestige which ought to surround a General-in-chief diminished.

The complaining took another character, and more malignant, when it was seen that the fitting out of the army cost more than was proper—when instead of economy and strict regulations being introduced, a multitude of paid officers were admitted on the staffs who served no other purpose than to embarrass all things, and with the motive of again charging useless salaries. These amounted to a large sum, and at the last it was observed that he placed at the heads of some brigades and corps, chiefs accused by public opinion of grave faults in a soldier's reputation.

All this gave additional material for dissatisfaction, but did not come to the ears of Santa Anna. Such a state of affairs no doubt gave rise to the dread which a society inspired, known by the name of the Red Comet, and established from almost the first coming of the army to San Luis. It was sought to give the association a political character, and much was said of it both here and in Mexico as one composed of conspirators against the principal chiefs of the army. This impression, however, vanished, and the members of the Red Comet were soon viewed as a re-union of convivial officers, who sought in this society a larger field for amusement.

If in truth Santa Anna had not formed any plan, he still affected to work as though he had one marked out. He therefore so gave it to be understood at the time of Valencia's arrival at San Luis, by declaring that it was indispensable in his opinion to reinforce the garrison of Tula de Tamaulipas. Consequently, he sent this officer to that point with the two corps of infantry, the Fijo de Mexico and Battalion Republicano, and in cavalry the Fieles de Guanajuato, the auxiliaries of Peéjamo and squadrons of Jalisco and San Luis. The posting of Valencia at this point soon gave rise to disagreeable events of which mention shall be made in the proper place.

Moreover the direction of politics changed again in Mexico. The new constituent congress had opened their sessions on the 6th of December, and one of its first acts was to be the election of a President and Vice President *ad interim*. The parties prepared for the contest. The *moderado* had taken their candidates from their own body, while the *puro*, who did not judge themselves capable of acquiring a triumph by their own strength proper, undertook to adopt Santa Anna as their candidate for the Presidency, by forgetting his recent inconsistency, with the object of voting for D. Valentin Gomez Farias as Vice President. The real aim of this combination was to have Santa Anna remain in the command of the army so that Farias might enter into the exercise of power. At last the election was decided in favor of the *puros*, and Salas gave up his office to Farias who was inaugurated as Vice President on the 24th of December, in the absence of Santa Anna declared President *ad interim*. The army of San Luis felt by this act the consequences of the change. The funds began to fail, and in January already there were not enough to cover the estimate as had been in the two former months.

If Farias had been less attentive to the success of his principles and of his party, under the pretext of war, and had turned his attention to procuring money by other means, he would have given less offence to particular classes, and particular interests. If he had not proposed applying the wealth of the church, the army would not have seen itself abandoned nor its General compelled to seize upon seventy bars of silver, belonging to private individuals, to provide for the soldiers who fought in the Angostura.

In January and February the opposition press of the capital raised a cry against the General-in-chief of the army of San Luis, by attributing either to negligence and but little inclination to make the campaign, or to sinister views, the apparent inaction of the force under his command. They inculpated daily this leader by supposing projects which only the spirit of party could imagine. This charge, which another general more skilful would have despised if he believed inaction convenient or necessary, exasperated Santa Anna to such a degree as to cause him to direct in a general order, the march of the army when there were none of the supplies in store upon which it depended. Thus it happened that he moved off from San Luis for the Angostura wanting in provisions and arms at the very moment in which the enemy changed the base of their operations. The result of this precipitation we shall now see in the issue of the battle of the Angostura.

To conclude this article we insert the following statement, so that an exact idea may be formed of the numbers and materiel, estimated of the army formed at San Luis.

ARMY OF THE NORTH.

ITS STRENGTH AND ORGANIZATION IN SAN LUIS POTOSI, WITH A NOTICE OF ITS EXPENSES, AND THE ARTICLES OF WAR POSSESSED BY IT.

Divisions.	Arms.	Generals who commanded them.	Chiefs.	Officers.	Troops.
	Staff of His Excellency the General-in-Chief .		11	7	
	Engineers	General D. Ignacio de Mora y Villamil	5	5	
	Staff of the Army	General D. Manuel Micheltorena .	5	16	
	Military Medical Corps	Inspector D. Pedro Vander Linden .	11	15	35
	Regiment of Engineers	Brevet General D. Santiago Blanco .	9	11	311
	Artillery	Commandante Gen. D. Antonio Corona	11	55	818
Vanguard Division	Infantry	General D. Francisco Pacheco . .	14	227	4618
Centre " .	"	General D. Manuel Lombardini . .	22	249	4080
Rear Guard " .	"	General D. Luis Guzman . . .	18	209	3870
First Brigade .	Cavalry	General D. Vincente Miñon . .	15	101	1308
Second " .	"	General D. Julian Juvera . . .	13	107	674
Third " .	"	General D. Anastasio Torrejon . .	13	90	708
Fourth " .	"	General D. Manuel Andrade . .	9	53	335
	Regiment of Hussars	Lieut. Colonel D. Miguel Andrade .	9	42	428
Division of Observation	Infantry	General D. Ciriaco Vazquez . .	11	117	1655
	Cavalry	General José Urrea	8	95	2121
		Total . .	182	1370	19,996

RECAPITULATION OF THE STRENGTH.

	Men.
Hospital	35
Sappers	311
Artillery	318
Infantry	13,672
Cavalry	5660
Total	19,996*

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* To this ought to be added 16 Generals, &c., 162 Chiefs, 1379 officers=1557+19,996=21,553.—Am. Ed.

PAY OF THESE FORCES.

	$	Reals.	Grs.
Staff of His Excellency the General-in Chief	7395	5	0
Regiment of Engineers	4167	2	5
Artillery trains, laborers, riders, and artificers	28,496	5	8
Staffs of the Divisions	6488	3	2
Military Medical Corps	2396	6	8
Expenses extraordinary of war and fortifications	50,000	0	0
Wagons and mules	3000	0	0
Infantry	194,213	1	2
Cavalry	120,650	7	9
Commissariat	1700	0	0
Total	348,780	0	5

STATEMENT OF THE ARTILLERY AND TRAINS OF WAR OF THE ARMY.

CANNON.

Of bronze 16-pounders dismounted*	3
Of bronze 12-pounders dismounted	4
Of iron 12-pounders mounted	2
Of bronze 12-pounders dismounted	1

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* Many pieces which we have mentioned as dismounted, were mounted a few days after the army marched from San Luis. Moreover, at the same time others were received at head-quarters, chiefly 16-pounders and 24-pounders.

Of bronze	8-pounders mounted	7
Of iron	8-pounders mounted	4
Of bronze	6-pounders mounted	3
Of bronze	4-pounders mounted	14
Of bronze	howitzer 7 inch	1
		39

MUNITIONS AND ARTICLES OF WAR.

	Number.
Ball cartridges for fire-arms	882,800
Powder cartridges ¾ ounce	36,800
Balls for cannon for 12-pounders	300
Balls for cannon for 8-pounders	2,914
Balls for cannon for 6-pounders	1,353
Balls for cannon for 4-pounders	964
Balls for cannon smaller	74
Balls for fire-arms, of lead, lbs.	400
Balls of bronze for grape, lbs.	600
Balls of iron for grape, lbs.	9,660
Canister for the 12-pounders	58
Canister for the 8-pounders	299
Canister for the 6-pounders	246
Canister for the 4-pounders	53
Canister for smaller	198
Canister for howitzers, 7 inch	15
Cannon balls for 24-pounders	45
Grenades for 7-pounders	410
Grenades charged in 7-pounders	12
Cartridges for grenades	375
Grenades, hand	113
Cannon cartridges for 12-pounders	354
Ball cartridges for 8-pounders	1,000
Powder cartridges alone 8-pounders	245

		Number.
Ball cartridges for	6-pounders	450
Powder cartridges for	6-pounders	150
Ball cartridges for	4-pounders	2,632
Grape cartridges for	4-pounders	921
Quick matches for	12-pounders	410
Quick matches for	8-pounders	1,500
Quick matches for	4-pounders	7,090
Lance fires		312
Rope matches, lbs.		1,100
Cannon powder, lbs.		8,600
Gun powder, lbs.		2,800
Fine powder for rifles, lbs.		1,500
Common powder, lbs.		8,800
Flints for guns		36,760
Flints for pistols		6,000
Bomb fuses, 7-inch		450
Wagons		2
Draft mules		24
Pack mules		200

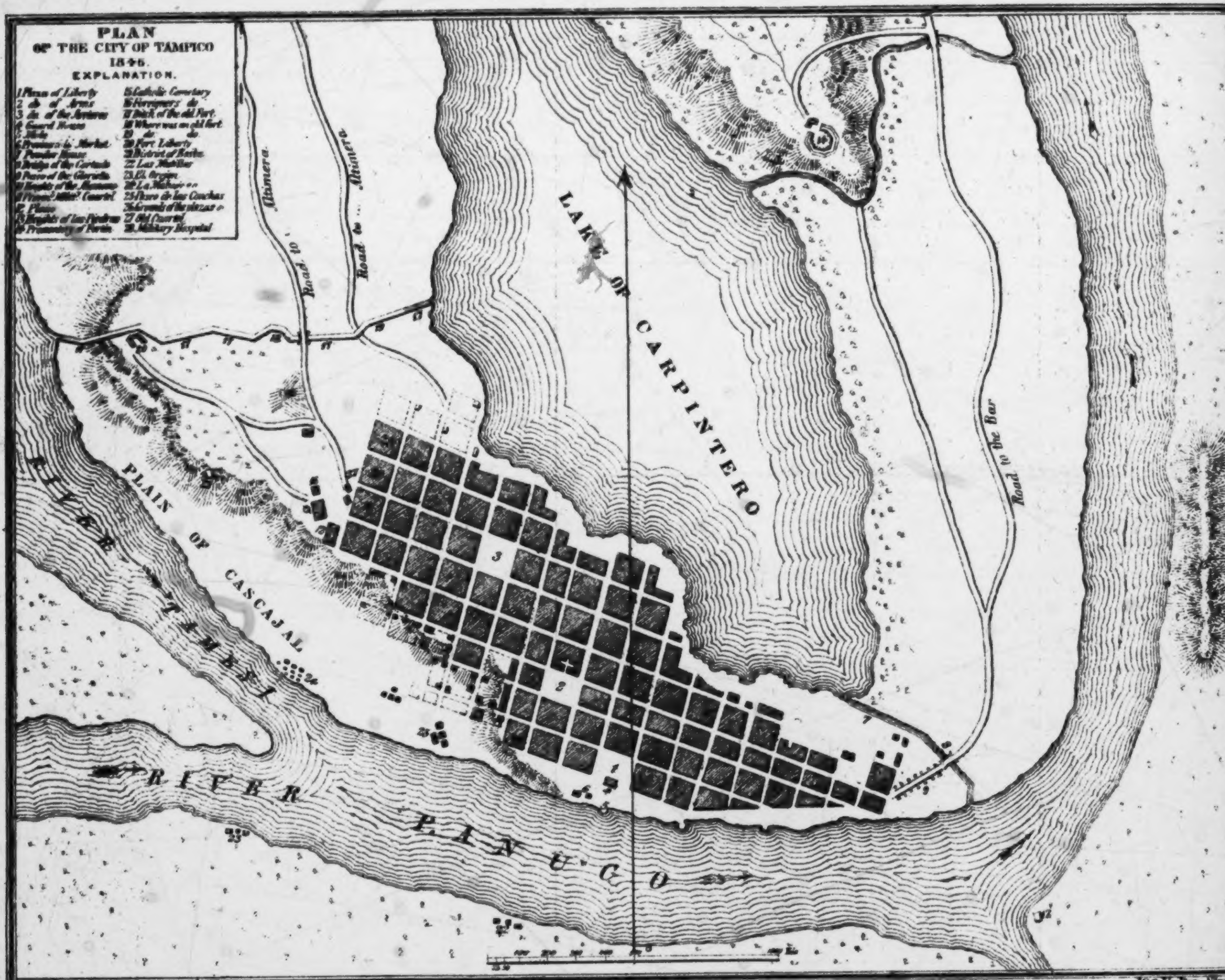
NOTE.—From the contradictions in the text, as to the real force that marched from San Luis to the Angostura, it is impossible to ascertain with precision the exact strength. The account represents the whole number at 18,000 men. Santa Anna in his despatch states it at 18,133. But it may be inferred from the tabular statement that neither of these includes the chiefs and officers, who by that paper amounted to 1,541, exclusive of the generals of division.

It will be perceived hereafter that this army was further increased by the brigade of General Parrodi, 1,000 strong, which joined in Matehuala. The above account declares that 4,000 men were lost by the time they arrived at the Encarnation; and Santa Anna reports only 1,000. It appears, however, from the general's explanation that some garrisons were posted in some of the towns.

The whole official force at San Luis was		21,553
The Brigade of Parrodi in Matehuala		1,000
		22,553
The loss by casualties and desertion	1,000	
Probable strength of garrisons	1,000	2,000

From this it seems Santa Anna had . . . . . 20,653 reporting to head-quarters at the Encarnation on the eve of the battle in the Angostura.

On the other side General Taylor had in his command an army not exceeding 6,500, of whom not more than 500 were regulars, and the balance volunteers.—Am. Ed.



Ackermann's Lith. 120 Fulton Street

CHAPTER V.

TAMPICO ABANDONED—CHANGE OF THE BASE OF OPERATIONS.

The government of the United States, after the taking of Monterey, approved of the plan of the campaign of General Scott, which was to change the base of operations, and transfer the theatre of the war from the North to the East. Santa Anna, in the meanwhile organizing his army at San Luis, to lead it to the Angostura, gave orders to the commander of the place of Tampico not to lose a moment in abandoning it, leaving thus to the enemy a point of which they hastened to avail themselves in full force, in consequence of its importance for the new plan of their successful operations.

The harbor of Tampico de Tamaulipas, on the eastern coast of this state, has always been considered one of the best on the Gulf, and its importance, both in mercantile and military points of view, caused the government of Mexico to estimate it favorably, and to place it in a regular state of defence. Its population is situated on the left bank of the Pánuco, at two leagues from its mouth, and very near to the lake of the Carpintero, forming a point certainly military, already known beforehand, and celebrated for our defence against the Spanish troops in the year 1829.

As soon as menaces of invasion from the United States were seen, and when the troops of Taylor advanced now upon the Bravo, the government of Mexico asked for information from the commanding general of the state as to the condition of the place. He, General D. Anastasio Parrodi, answered, that the fortifications of all kinds had been demolished in the year 1837, having been considered serviceable only to shelter and afford a point of defence to the disturbers of the public order, who at that time agitated there. In consequence, its means of resistance were deemed useless, and, moreover, it was recollected that it was deficient in troops. Upon this intelligence the government, knowing its importance, sent some funds with which, if they did not prepare the place for all the defence capable of being made, perhaps they might have put it in a state to have advantageously resisted the enemy, to whom it soon was a very desirable point.

Troops, too, were marched there, provided with abundant munitions and sufficient funds, and it followed that, in October, 1846, the garrison of Tampico was composed of more than 1000 soldiers of the battalions of the 12th of the line, the Actives of Puebla, the Guarda Costa of Tampico, the Compañia Veterana of the same place, a company of the 6th cavalry of Tamaulipas, a detachment of artillery, with 120 cannon of all calibres, field and heavy, and with abundant material of the park. The National Guard, composed of about 2000 citizens, full of enthusiasm, were disposed to fight, as was proven in the bombardment at the bar of the harbor, practised by the blockading squadron in June of the same year. It counted besides on three vessels of war, the Union, the Poblana, and the Queretana, and other small craft, all regularly armed.

Such was its condition in the month of October. The general government had given orders to General Parrodi to place himself completely at the disposal of Santa Anna throughout the campaign, and to comply with his directions. He now, however, received another to turn over the command to General D. Francisco Garay, who was named to replace him. He presented himself at the beginning of the month, and desired to have the command, at the very moment when a closing order was sent to Parrodi from Santa Anna to evacuate the place, and to replenish with the troops and trains the town of Tula de Tamaulipas, 70 leagues in the interior from Tampico, across the Sierra Madre.

This unexpected order surprised Parrodi, since the efforts the government had made to place the point in a state of defence, and the very letter itself in which was communicated the appointment of Garay, showed clearly their intention at Mexico was to defend Tampico at all hazards. It is certain, as already has been manifested elsewhere, that the point was not as strong as could be desired. But still it had been made apparent, and they were convinced of the necessity and possibility of a resistance.

The position became also the more critical when the discontent was general, upon the order being made known for the evacuation. All the city, and even the soldiers, began to murmur, and the murmurers proceeded so far as to raise the cry of "treason," a cry which ran through the Republic. If feeling and thinking people did not listen to this, believing only that the order effected very well a vicious combined plan of the campaign, still the whole force of authenticated documents was requisite to smother it.

Distinguished persons and some foreign consuls proved to Parrodi the injuries, public as well as private, which the abandonment would cause, since the step of deserting a point so essential for the protection of the country would create incalculable losses to commerce and to the treasury also, from the revenues which would be left uncollected. These could not be now expected so much from the vessels coming, since the blockade prevented their entrance, but from those accruing from the international duties on a multitude of articles which had been stored in this city.

The Governor, Nuñes Ponce, who was there, made Parrodi observe the danger incurred in abandoning the place, and offered him funds to sustain his position. Finally, the affairs assumed the appearance of a conspiracy, having for its aim to disobey the order of Santa Anna. In this conflict Parrodi did not see himself excused nevertheless, with the order before him of the government, to obey this general in all things relating to the campaign. He thought of no other method than to send a rapid express to him, with a communication in which he described the many annoyances he had felt, and the many dangers he had undergone, in witnessing the proceedings of the people, as well as the importance of this defence for the cause which he upheld. But Santa Anna, incensed at this opposition, did nothing more than repeat his orders, adding to Parrodi, that he would make him personally responsible for what might occur from disobedience, and even fixing the precise time for the disoccupation to take place. Parrodi, then deaf to whatever remarks might be made, decided to obey blindly, and on the 27th of October, this garrison abandoned Tampico with precipitation.

The preparation for this desertion presented a most deplorable spectacle. Precipitancy reigned over all, and the result was, that a large part of the arms and munitions which existed in this city was lost. For one reason this was almost unavoidable, since to carry them required more than 800 mules, which it was impossible to collect in the midst of so much confusion. For another, the road that Parrodi had to take was rough and hilly, as from Tampico to Tula carts could only pass to the hacienda of the Chamal where the acclivity commenced that leads to Santa Barbara, and where it was now essential to take the artillery to pieces, and carry by hand the carriages as well as the cannon. Five leagues further on was the cross of the Sierra Madre, and they had to be raised to craggy and elevated crests of the Chamal, Contadero and the Gallitos.

In the preparations for this fatal march they commenced by demolishing the batteries at the Barra, a place at the mouth of the river. They dismounted, and carried on board the ships the 10 pieces which were found on the Promontorio, a point north-east of the city, in the plain of the Espartal and the lake of the Carpintero. At this had been constructed an inclosed work which enfiladed the river in its course to the sea, and was capable of holding 300 or 400 men. This work was not at present demolished for the want of time, but soon after it was destroyed. They dismantled likewise the fortifications upon the small canal by which the lake communicates with the river, and the cannon were transferred to the vessels. In the same manner was served the defensive line established at one of the two entrances into the country, and whose extremities were strengthened in the lake, in the works of Landero and Guerrero, and in the small fort of Libertad. Three hundred mules only were designated for drawing the park and trains, and as it was impossible to carry all, many articles were shipped, and others, such as clothes, some of the park, and armament, which in the haste were deemed useless, were thrown into the water, in the very presence of the town, which fact was judged conclusive of the suspicions of treason. At this time the commanding general required that the National Guard should give up the muskets of the army which they had. As it was believed he would serve them as he had served other articles, a great resistance was made, and only by force could he succeed in obtaining them. The captain of the port, D. José Rivera, endeavored to save all that pertained to his office, which in the end was lost, for at this time it was impossible to preserve pikes, boats, &c., from those who had carried off all.

The ships, the Union, Poblana, and Queretana, freighted with all things useful that could be saved, were placed at the disposal of Surgeon D. Francisco Marchante, who was to conduct all these essentials from Pugal to Tamonal, 50 leagues up the river, by the river Támesis, and 7 leagues from Villa de Valles, from whence they were to be brought by land to the Sierra, and thence to Tula. But as some of these vessels could only navigate the river to the town of Pánuco, situated on the right bank of the river of the same name, it was ordered that from there all that was valuable should be transferred to canoes, a small craft which, with great ease, could follow up the river. The three vessels mentioned had to return to Tampico, having before been sold to a merchant, the only way left to prevent their loss. All this destruction being concluded, and all these sad preparations terminated, on the 27th the first section of the troops left the city, and on the 28th the second, with the commanding general, the park, and munitions which they could carry.

The offices of the treasury, where no orders had been received for this emergency, were found in the greatest confusion. The administrador of the custom-house, a short time after the troops had gone, moved out with some of his clerks and the most important papers, to the town of Ozuluama, on the route to Mexico. The administrador of revenues followed the division, making it pay his expenses, and the one of tobacco remained in the place, having before this embarked his property. Most of the archives of these offices were abandoned, and fell soon after into the hands of the enemy.

Santa Anna, impressed by the occurrences of Tampico, and of the resistance which his mandate had experienced, and fearing from some observations which Parrodi had expressed of him, that he had disobeyed his orders, or, at least, had not performed the withdrawal with the promptness which was so important for his plans, appointed General D. José Urrea to proceed at once, by forced marches, and relieve Parrodi. Urrea went off accordingly, and after a gloomy march of three days, met him on the 29th at the garrison, at the point of the Laguna de la Puerta, where Parrodi gave up the command to him without the resistance which he had made before to Garay. The division continued its march by Horcacitas, and Santa Barba, and from thence to Tula, where it entered on the 14th of November. It had experienced great difficulties in passing the light pieces, which they drew along over the crests of the Chamal, Contadero, and Gallitos. Marchante had not been so fortunate, who was detained in Pánuco without sufficient means, without troops, and without meeting the small transports which were necessary to carry forward the valuable articles intrusted to him.

At the commencement we indicated the importance that Tampico began to assume for the enemy, according to their new plan of operations, and it was now almost decided to approach it in full force. They had it in constant observation, and with this object sloops of war cruised off the bar. One of these, apprised of what had passed in the place, and afterwards having perceived all perfectly, set sail to meet the commander of the squadron, blockading Vera Cruz, bringing to him the agreeable intelligence of Tampico being abandoned. It is indescribable the pleasure with which he received this news, since without any sacrifice on their part they were now masters of a point much coveted. Forces were immediately prepared, and on the 10th of November 400 to 500 men disembarked at Tampico, and took peaceable possession of the key to the capital of the Mexican Republic, which our inexperience abandoned to them.

The Ayuntamiento presented themselves before the American chief, asking securities for the inhabitants. But he, in the midst of the delirium of a victory so easily acquired, conceded some and denied others. They named a military governor, and required that the archives, public edifices, and arms of all kinds, should be delivered up to him, for which a formal requisition was made. In one word, the omnipotence of the conquest was felt quickly, since much time did not pass without its being made known to this Ayuntamiento, that almost all they had to do was to render homage, subjecting the whole people to the exclusive dominion of the American military.

With horror we would draw a veil over the name of one who, otherwise infamous at Tampico, counselled with the enemy, if his treason had not given place to new conflicts. A certain man called Cervantes, indicated to the American commander the point in which we could be met, our trains detained, and the facility with which they might be taken. The Americans knowing this, ordered 100 men to proceed up the river in launches to overtake Marchante, who would have been surprised if the Sr. Coss, Administrador of Tobacco, who had remained in the place, had not apprised him of this by express.

Marchante found himself without means or supplies for moving, and this notice embarrassed him. Notwithstanding, by making unheard of efforts, he succeeded in procuring some small craft, and to them he transferred as much as they would hold. But these were not sufficient for all. He was, therefore, compelled to abandon 10 pieces of cannon, from 24's to 18's, and to throw into the water great kegs of powder, munitions, and some arms. He immediately abandoned this place, and soon after the Americans came to search for him. They collected the cannon and whatever articles they found abandoned. Thinking, no doubt, to follow after Marchante, they asked for information of the alcalde of the town, who dissuaded them, by representing the distance to be immense, who at the same time might have found Marchante.

Content, therefore, with the spoils they had gathered, they returned to Tampico, where Cervantes insisted anew on the American General not abandoning the attempt, showing that the small expedition had been deceived, and that Marchante could be met at a little distance. Excited again, the General arranged another more formal expedition. He ordered two steamboats to be armed, and manned with 100 men each, and to proceed without delay to come up to the flotilla of canoes which Marchante conducted. But, accidentally, it so happened that this time the enterprise failed, notwithstanding Marchante's difficulties, since the few men he had deserted for the want of supplies.

Contending with all these obstacles, and alone impelled by patriotism and humanity which he met in some, he was able to find those who assisted him to the Pugal. But the two steamboats of the enemy, detained on their course by some natural causes, only advanced as far as Tamonal, seven leagues further up than the place mentioned before. After this the same Cervantes denounced to the American chief as false, the sale of the three ships, the Union, Poblano, and Queretana; with which it was sufficient to have them taken, by raising upon them the banner of the stars.

While the enemy undertook to capture all the materials confided to Marchante, General Urrea, who was a stranger to their delay, put at the disposal of Captain D. José Antonio Diaz, 700 dollars to transfer to whatever place he could meet him, and to accelerate the bringing of the important objects confided to him. Diaz, very remiss in his commission, contented himself with their transfer to Villa de Valles, where, without making great efforts or inquiries, he waited in tranquillity the arrival of Marchante.

In the meanwhile, Urrea, instructed by letters from Tampico of how much had been lost, saw the danger to be more imminent than what, till now, he had supposed, and thought only of repairing the evil which had been done in abandoning Marchante, charged with a commission of such importance. He, therefore, ordered that Commandante D. José Barreiro should start immediately with a section of 200 men of infantry and a picket of cavalry to protect the disembarcation of our trains. Accordingly, Barreiro, on the 28th of November, left Tula with instructions to direct his march to the point where he might meet Marchante, protect the embarcation, give speed to the trains, and to arrest, if necessary, all the officers who had caused the delay and the danger.

Barreiro, having come to Valles, united to his small division more than 700 men of the national guard and laborers of the neighborhood. By this he could detach forces in all directions; and he marched at once to Pugal, situated on the margin of the river where he was received by Marchante. The enemy, who, as we have said before, had come in their steamboats to Tamonal, learned there of the respectable force which had advanced to the assistance of Marchante. They did not desire, therefore, to hazard an unfortunate issue to their expedition; but, instead of that, contented themselves with having pillaged the small population and rancherias of what they contained, and returned to Tampico.

At once in the Pugal, Barreiro pushed forward the disembarcation, which was done on the 1st of December, and all prepared for the conducting of the trains and materials to Tula. This offered a thousand difficulties, from the roughness of the road where artillery never had passed over; but patience and perseverance overcame everything, and passing forward the cannon by hand and the other materials by muleteers, these remains of the supplies were finally saved, which but for the order of Santa Anna might have served for the defence of Tampico.

All these events had already come to his notice, and he made grave accusations against Urrea. He ordered that without the delay of one moment General D. Joaquin Morlet, Colonel of the Regiment of Puebla, should be sent to save these trains. Therefore Morlet went, but in Valles he overtook now the convoy travelling in good order. Urrea himself, impatient of the pertinacity of Santa Anna in his suggestions, started also to meet the same, and on the 25th of December the convoy entered Tula, conducted by Barreiro, to whom undoubtedly its salvation is due.

At this time Taylor, who, with his forces detached to Saltillo, appeared to menace San Luis, learned of our withdrawal from Tampico. Impressed with the new plan of operations, and for whose execution the abandoned port of Tampico had opened to them, he moved immediately from these points, and at the head of a division of 3,000 men marched to the east.

This movement being known, Santa Anna believed that he was about to be attacked in the right flank of his position, and with this impression he deemed it an imperative necessity to reinforce the point of Tula de Tamaulipas. He had already ordered to it General Valencia with one brigade composed of the forces which we mentioned in our former article. But Valencia had not instructions to stand on the defensive, for which the fortification of Tula would have to commence, an object for which he now gave orders to General D. Ignacio Mora y Villamil to march a section of engineers.

One view of Tula was enough to comprehend its false position as a point of defence. Surrounded on all sides by heights that completely commanded it, the garrison would have to succumb without resistance, in case the enemy contemplated an attack; when on the same line on the right flank that was proposed to be defended, there were other brilliant places capable of a vigorous defence, but whose importance was not recognised intentionally or from ignorance. Some observations were made to General Santa Anna to cause him to see that this was a false position; but as his answer was, that his commands had been definitively given, no person now thought of more than to obey them.

In the meanwhile the division of Taylor came to Victoria 30 leagues distant from Tula. From there Taylor returned to Monterey, and this force was consigned to General Patterson. Valencia was idle in Tula and without a hope of meeting the enemy, for he was satisfied they would never adopt the plan of crossing these heights. Therefore being desirous that they should not pass with impunity at such a short distance, he proposed to General Santa Anna a simple scheme by which Valencia himself should move to Ciudad Victoria upon the enemy, being almost certain of a triumph, at the head of the forces that he found concentrated in Tula.

Valencia was only anxious throughout to harass the enemy, and ultimately limited his request for permission to take some guerrilias with a view to embarrass them, even if it should merely be in their trains and baggage. But Santa Anna irritated by this new solicitation, gave in answering Valencia a reprimand; treating it as an insubordination, depriving him of his command and appointing General D. Ciriaco Vasquez. He was fearful no doubt that Valencia, carried away by his excitability and by a noble ambition to gain the first victory over the enemy, would disobey his orders and march to carry off this glory. But, however it may be, the apparent pretext was that by such insubordination he would destroy the combined plan of the General-in-chief of the army of San Luis.

Valencia was then separated from the command and banished to Guanajuato. Thus it was, by apathy no doubt, all the roads were opened to the enemy, whereby a concentration could be effected in Tampico, of their forces which soon should bombard Vera Cruz.

We have concluded the exact relation of these events, wanting only to make some reflections without which this article would be incomplete. These remarks are deduced from the nature of the events themselves. Thus without bringing any censure on an impartial history, we can infer logical conclusions from these premises so well known. This need not be by forestalling opinion, since we are certain that the same reflections will be arrived at by all who are impressed with these transactions.

The defence of Tampico was believed necessary by the government of the Republic, from which the fortifications were repaired and the garrison reinforced. The reasons of this are very apparent, for in case the enemy changed their base of operations and passed the theatre of war, as was soon done, to the east, Tampico would be naturally one of the points most essential, not from the consideration of its being a harbor for the interior of the country, but an indispensable place for the support and success of operations upon Vera Cruz. Tampico would be the centre of their forces. Without it the whole squadron of the Gulf would be wanting in fresh provisions, and finally in a refuge for their sick, or to repair their losses or damage.

It is certain that when the war commenced at the North, and even had not formally menaced Vera Cruz, notwithstanding the presence of the blockading squadron, the importance of Tampico, if you wish, was less. But how was it possible to see affairs under the same aspect afterwards, when, Monterey being taken, the views of the government of the United States changed entirely? If in the North we saw one body of the enemy that threatened San Luis, we saw in it only the cunning of the United States. With this they engaged our attention, while in fact they effected a change, which ought to have been observed for the purpose of avoiding its fatal consequences.

Considering these things under this point of view, the battle of the Angostura was for us the loss of the capital, and would also have been, even if a decisive victory had been the result of that action. Its importance to the Americans was great, and would have been great, whatever had been its issue. And why? Because they had dragged us to one extremity of the line which, according to their new plan, was to be attacked.

When, therefore, they effected this change, Tampico acquired all the importance which we have related. It was the interest of the enemy to secure it, as they had been intent from June in bombarding its bar. But if it were decided to take it in full force, how is it then that at this very time the General-in-chief of our army ordered this place to be dismantled, by affecting ignorance or contempt for the views of the enemy? The reasons for this we do not know at all. And what could be alleged? That the place was not sufficiently strong to resist the Americans? This should have been the reason why absolutely we should have fought them, since their preponderance from the beginning was seen very clearly over us. If this was not the reason, what other, powerful as it might be, could have advised this determination?

The press at the time abused it, as likewise the whole nation, in making the same reflections, and what answer was given? None, save that of its being proper to the views and to the plan of the General-in-chief. These events, then, were attributed to inattention or treason, and we, who have never believed in the latter, attribute it to the former. The mind of our General-in-chief, fixed on the line of the North, did not trace that which led to the coast, and did not perceive, at least, the important change which was accomplished.

Now, how is it known that the spirit which prevailed in the evacuation of Tampico was not the same that was followed in the fortification of Tula de Tamaulipas, that ridiculous point of defence? First, because it was not defensible, and second, the enemy, who, intent on concentration, never thought to invade by these rugged mountains. There is no doubt that to this is due the refusal which Valencia experienced, when he proposed his plan of attacking the enemy on their march to Tampico by Ciudad Victoria. Santa Anna affected in all to conform to a plan, and consequently we believe that what we have related was regulated by system, but a system stupid and full of errors.

The conduct of General Parrodi, in our opinion, is not culpable, except only in the manner the withdrawal took place. With less precipitation he would have preserved greater results, and we should not have had there such a loss in very useful articles. Touching the order to evacuate, Parrodi did what was proper, which was to represent to Santa Anna the many inconveniences it would have. The General-in-chief however persisted, and Parrodi had only to obey, since the responsibility in this case fell upon him in authority giving the order. But Parrodi was not sufficiently composed in directing the march, and from this the disorder of Tampico resulted; and the abandonment of our trains and other material in the power of Marchante, without assistance and men, by which he became exposed to so much danger.

Parrodi was soon after recalled to San Luis, and subjected to a court-martial by Santa Anna, for having ordered the abandonment of Tampico. Was there ever known more frivolous cause for accusation, or to speak more properly, was there ever a greater burlesque on the good sense of the nation? How could Santa Anna expect that Parrodi would be condemned and his conduct censured, when they should have condemned and censured the conduct of Santa Anna himself? Thus Parrodi was acquitted of all criminality for the evacuation of Tampico, which to a certain point was just, for he was not the real culprit certainly. The division of Tula finally joined the army of San Luis, when it took up its march for the Angostura.

Such is the truth respecting one of the most remarkable affairs of the last campaign, and from which have sprung the very gravest charges against its director. We will take care that time shall brighten that which to this period is obscure, for the history of these remarkable events touches every one as his own concern.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARCH OF THE ARMY FROM SAN LUIS—BATTLE OF THE ANGOSTURA, OR BUENA VISTA.

General Santa Anna, after remaining for more than three months in San Luis, determined to seek the enemy that had advanced to Aguanueva. To carry out this resolution he sent the suitable orders. In the city the movement was noticed at once, and the consequent agitation of the march of the army. Everything was prepared for the departure, and the troops undertook it with a strong desire to fight anew with the invaders.

The infantry and artillery had not till then left San Luis, but the cavalry were away before this time, divided in 4 brigades, squadroned as follows:—One, under the orders of General Torrejon, was stationed in Bocas; another of General Juvera was in the Venado; the third, of which General Andrade was in command, having been for some time in the Cedral, advanced soon to Encarnation; and the fourth, under General Miñon, who after having surprised in the same Encarnation a detachment of more than 100 Americans, and making them prisoners, was now posted in the hacienda of Potosi.

The movement of the army commenced on the 28th of January, the day on which all the artillery, with their trains and the materiel of war, moved out, accompanied by a battalion of sappers and a company of San Patricio.* The division of General Pacheco fol-

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* The company of San Patricio, Saint Patrick, was composed of deserters from the American army. They were all Europeans, and some of them deserters from the British army in Canada, who afterwards had enlisted in the United States, and thence passing over to the enemy at Matamoros and Monterey.—Am. Ed.

AYUDANTE GENERAL MICHELTORENA.

Cuartel maestre en la Angoslura.

Ackermans lith 120 Fulton St. N.Y.

lowed on the 29th, denominated the 1st; the 2d, commanded by General Lombardini, on the next day, and the 3d, under the orders of General Ortega, on the 31st. The head-quarters were changed from San Luis on the 2d of February.

Sad was the aspect which the city presented, contrasting then its silence and solitude with the martial, animating, and peopled liveliness of the former days. The inhabitants had received among them a large number of military characters, who had there assembled from all directions, and many of them with their families. When the army departed, all did not then abandon the city, even if some followed, accompanying the 18,000 men of whom the army was composed. The absence of these alone was sufficient to give San Luis the appearance of a city that had lost of a sudden a considerable portion of its population.

The infantry advanced in the order designated, making their days' marches as follows:—to Peñasco, Bocas, the Hedionda, the Venado, Charcas, Laguna Seca, Solis, and the Presa. The sufferings of the army began on the day they withdrew from San Luis. The division of Ortega left in the Hedionda three dead with cold, a number which, though imperceptible, so to speak, was already an indication of what they should experience from the rigor of the season. Now, too, soldiers remained after some days on the road, wearied out. But these miseries springing up did not alter the minds of the troops going to encounter the enemy. Their enthusiasm increased when meeting, first in Bocas, and soon after in the Venado, the two sections in which came the Americans, captured by General Miñon. The presence of these conquered enemies was an event of happy augury; it seemed a prediction that announced that the same fate would overtake the whole army of General Taylor.

On the 3d of February it began to blow a strong norther, which lasted all day. A light rain fell, and the cold, sufficiently rigorous, was felt. On the 4th the weather continued, the rain did not cease, the cold came to freezing, and the troops now perceived, in a very sensible manner, the ravages of the unpropitious season.

The division of Ortega passed these two days in the Venado, that of Pacheco in Solis, and Lombardini in the Laguna Seca. This hacienda, composed of a limited number of tenements, could not lodge the 5,000 soldiers who had arrived. In each they had put in so many that they could hardly move. Deprived of fire to warm their benumbed limbs, they tried to communicate heat to one another by the contact of their bodies, with their breath, and with friction on the parts most affected by the cold.

Fortunately on the 5th the atmosphere changed. The dull weather disappeared, and the clouds broke. The sun in its splendor shone with brightness and with power, spreading its light and heat, so much desired. All nature revived, the suffering army returned to life; sensation reanimated their strength, and gave birth to contentment and cheerfulness. But in a few hours this relief was converted into a torture of another kind. The heat became as intolerable as had been the cold on the days before. The embracing rays of this luminary suffocated the soldiers, who in vain sought a protecting shade on these plains, where they only found, at great intervals, some clusters of palm-trees, isolated and parched in the midst of a desert. Upon the road there was not water to quench their thirst, and they saw very distant the end of their journey, in which they suffered so much, not only the soldiers, but the women who followed, dead with fatigue and with their killing burdens of wood.

The afflictions of the troops decided the General-in-chief to order the divisions to rest for one day in Matehuala, continuing their march on the next. This respite was necessary to give some alleviation to the evils which they now experienced, which still were nothing in comparison to others afterwards.

The brigade of General Parrodi, composed of 1,000 men, united with the army in Matehuala, and from thence formed a part of the division of Ortega.

Nothing particular occurred until the 10th, when it began to blow a norther. The skies covered with black clouds, and intercepting the rays of the sun, announced a heavy fall of rain, which was not long in coming. The wind swept with violence in front, and the sand which it raised blinded their eyes.

When the storm began, the first division was in march from Las Animas to Saltillo, and suffered the least. The second was in the Cedral, and General Lombardini considering the loss he would suffer determined to rest there for one day. The division of Ortega, the third, ignorant of this halt, started from Matehuala, met those who had possession of the Cedral, and, from an order of a ranking officer, was required to countermarch to Matehuala; thus making a double day's journey in this severe weather. Its track was strewed with sick and stragglers.

General Santa Anna, informed of the stop, in the Cedral, of the division of Lombardini, was highly incensed, and ordered him to proceed on to Las Animas, which he did on the subsequent day.

On the 11th, the norther completely died away, the rain followed, the water congealing in the air produced a sensation of cold the most painful. In a short time the grass was covered with a white carpet on which the foot slipped. The cold was so intense that the parts of the body uncovered were becoming affected, and paralysing the circulation of the blood. The soldiers were dying, and many breathed their last. The spectacle of these misfortunes was horrible. The unfortunate victims shed tears at seeing themselves losing that life which should have terminated more nobly in a glorious contest against a foreign enemy.

At night, the division of Lombardini encamped in Las Animas. His distress became truly intolerable; he slept in bivouac. He could see his soldiers in the plain, around some little blaze which the scarcity of the wood might allow, all clustered about the fire disputing for the better place that would permit them to enjoy its delightful heat. Some solitary shepherd would also present himself, driving his flock half dead with cold, who would strive to reanimate them by drawing near to the light.

The absolute want of supplies in Las Animas obliged General Santa Anna to order Lombardini to countermarch the division on the 12th to Vanegas, a hacienda where there could be had necessaries for the troops.

Meanwhile, Ortega had left Matehuala for the Cedral, where he passed the night. The cavalry remained in Matehuala, having before united the brigades of Torrejon and Juvera, who had permitted all the divisions to precede them, and they following at the interval of one day's march, in the rear of the infantry. The head-quarters having come also to Las-Animas, found this rancho entirely occupied by troops, and had to return back to Vanegas.

The weather changed on the 13th, being all day cloudy and drizzling, although not snowing as before, and the cold sensibly diminished. But the desertion increased with reason, the number of dead had augmented, and large gaps appeared in the ranks, as balls from the cannon of the enemy's batteries would leave them on a field of battle. The evil also was not limited to the men; the park, getting wet, was unserviceable, the arms rusted, the shoes became heated on the feet, distressing the skin, and destroying it, and then soon broke to pieces and were useless.

The march continued on the 14th, the sick list increasing, the dead not diminishing. A mail was brought from Mexico, in which came the first notice of the revolution that was then taking place. The army received with pleasure, in the midst of the desert, the letters from their families, their friends, and every one bound to them by any ties of affection. They read them with avidity. This was the last time they should have news from many they loved, before the battle they were to fight, and having in the perspective a probable death, they considered them as a tender farewell. Many, indeed, fell in action, leaving without answer these dear letters; but, if their loss was a good cause of affliction, their names, exalted by glory, will be to them a source of comfort and a soothing consolation.

The sun, concealed till twelve o'clock, appeared, bringing with it hope and happiness from the sufferings undergone in its absence. It was now necessary to pass three days in the desert, in a thick mist, in heavy showers of rain, in cold, without the means to procure heat, save the taking of that which some solar ray was worth as it beamed on the countenances of our soldiers. It was received as a friend that was desired, and as a benefactor who had deferred his favor to the most critical moment. Vivas and acclamations of joy resounded in thankfulness. It seemed as though this luminary would retrieve the empire which it swayed in Peru, before the Spanish conquest, and that the soldiers of the north, imitating the subjects of the Incas, would bend the knee to adore it as a divinity.

The provisions which previously had been placed at points on the route, began to grow scarce from the 14th. The rations, sufficiently scant before, now became more reduced, leaving almost the hunger of the troops unsatisfied. On the subsequent days the misery continued the more frightful, so that their strength naturally failed, and their suffering increased, but borne with that patience worthy of soldiers who went forth to fight for their country.

The divisions squadroned as it has been seen pursued their march to the Encarnation. Their afflictions, instead of diminishing, augmented more and more. The daily journeys, long and painful, were made without meeting on the road any habitation. On arriving at some far distant point where they should pass the night, even there was no shelter for their accommodation, and their sleep was in the open air exposed to all the severity of the storm. Water so sensibly failed as to be no longer had, except at places distant from each other, and then too brackish to quench the burning thirst produced by the dust of the road. The friendly shade of trees afforded no refuge, for with the exception of a few palms, there were none, as we have already said, on this desert. The only verdure in abundance was the herb called the *gobernadora* (*Zigophillum tabago*), which was visible in all directions to the horizon. On the sea so soon as the shores disappear, nothing can be seen beyond sky and water, and on this desert nothing was observed beyond sky and grass, save some distant rancheria, similar to the huts of savages and resembling an island on this terrestrial ocean.

The division of Pacheco on the 17th arrived at the Encarnation, Lombardini's on the 18th, Ortega's on the 19th, and the cavalry brigades of Torrejon and Juvera on the 20th and 21st. At this hacienda on these days they met General Andrade, whose small force, improperly called a brigade, was composed of some few presidial soldiers. The advance of the enemy had been within gunshot.

The whole army was concentrated in the Encarnation where the first troops had been halted until the others came up. Being now united the General-in-chief reviewed them on horseback, and in passing the ranks he was received with enthusiastic vivas. His presence in the midst of his staff indicated that the hour of danger was near, and that he was prepared courageously to close with it. According to a statement there made, there were at that time 14,000 men of all arms. Thus before meeting the enemy, there had been a loss of 4,000 from death, sickness, stragglers, and desertion. But those who remained, felt reanimated by the proximity of the enemy. They prepared their arms for action, they shouted to their leaders, and showed how courageously they would conduct themselves in battle.

At one on the day of the 21st the troops took their meal, and filling their gourds with water moved off for the gate of the Carnero. The light corps led, commanded by General Ampudia; the battalion of Sappers followed with their battery of sixteen; next came the divisions of Pacheco, Lombardini, and Ortega, the first denominated the vanguard, the second the centre, and the third the rear guard. After these were the artillery with their accompaniments and their material of war. Then might be seen next the cavalry of Juvera and Torrejon, while General Andrade covered the rear of the whole army.

Although General Santa Anna gave orders that the women who followed the troops should not pass the Encarnation, they were not obeyed. In consequence the very great number of these pushed on, forming a new army.

The night was passed in the gate of the Carnero. There were the light corps, the Husares, and the other troops in the midst of a plantation of palm trees. "In the night," relates an eye-witness, in a periodical of the capital, "the cold was intense, beyond description, and the army shivering by an instinct almost of desperation set fire to different points in the grove of palms. The flame increased its volume, and an ocean of fire suddenly sprang up with its awful waves in the midst of the heavens. * * * * * The spectacle was imposing and sublime. By the light the soldiers were seen half-dead with cold, looking like an army of lifeless bodies."

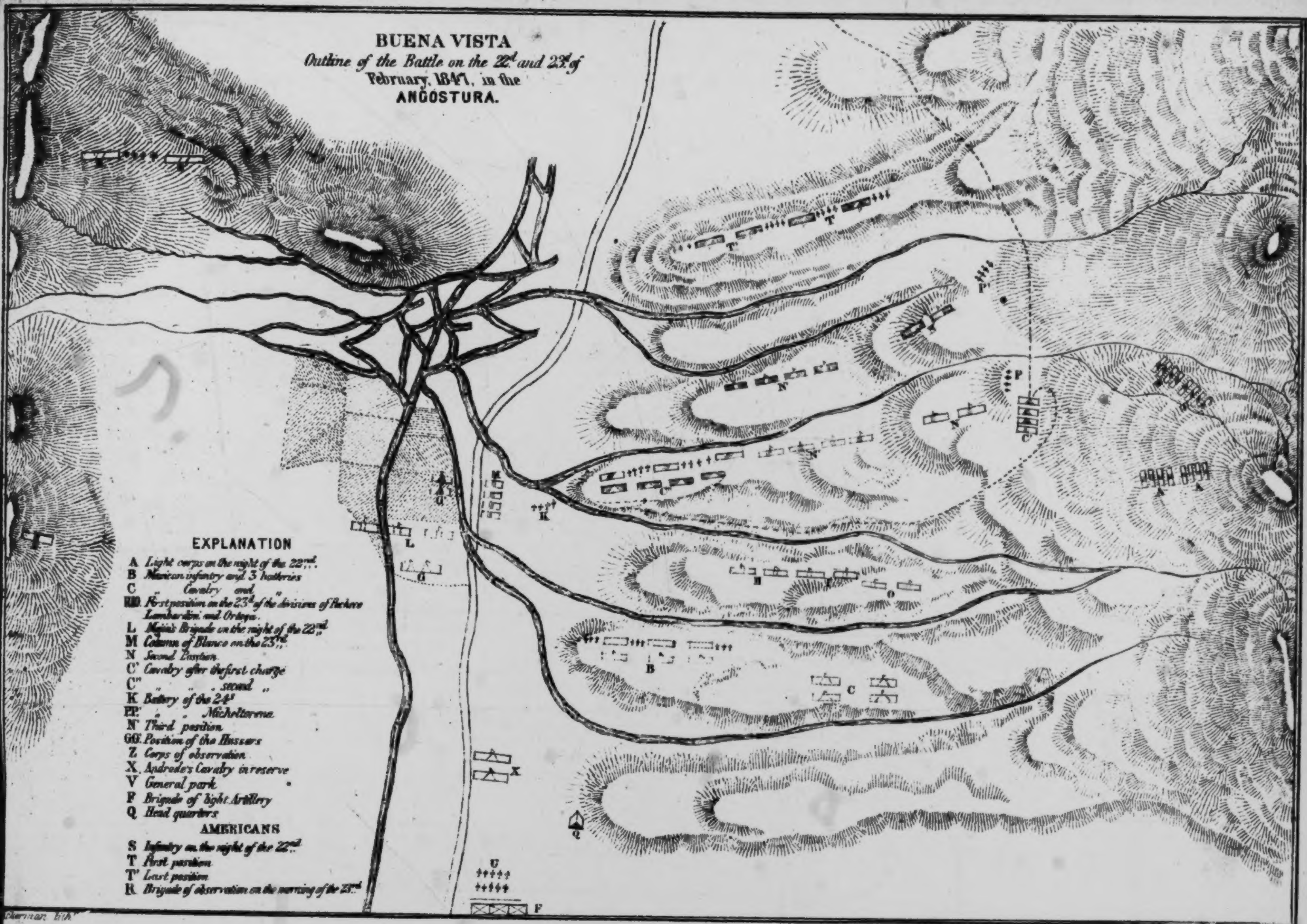
On the 22d the march was resumed. General Santa Anna on horseback presented himself to the troops and aroused their spirits. He proceeded to the advance guard, whose enthusiasm was at the highest pitch. Information soon was received that the Americans, who it was believed would defend the post of Aguanueva, had abandoned that hacienda, after having given it to the flames.

As soon as Santa Anna had become certain of this fact, he rode hastily to Aguanueva with his staff and the Husares. Having come there, he resolved at once to follow up the enemy, and ordered the cavalry to the front. They immediately obeyed, and while the divisions of the infantry halted to provide themselves with water, the cavalry passed without one man stopping to drink a drop, although all were fatigued, without food, and burning with thirst. In passing the hacienda, they turned their wistful looks to the well, which re-animated with its crystal waters, but submissive to the voice of duty, they went on together without leaving the ranks.

A little further on, they came up with the enemy on the field of battle known by the name of the Angostura. The ground which had to be passed over was formed of extensive and broad plains, in which it would not have been possible to resist the vigorous shock of our troops, especially of our beautiful cavalry. But where the enemy had halted to give battle, two successive series of hills and barrancas began, which formed a position truly formidable. Each hill was fortified with a battery, and ready to deal its murderous fire upon any attempting to take it. The position presenting serious obstacles to an attack, manifested very plainly, that for the Mexicans to gain a victory they would have to sustain a heavy loss in men.

As soon as the cavalry arrived at the Encantada, where they came in presence of the enemy, the firing of light arms commenced. The General-in-chief immediately ordered the infantry to accelerate their speed by marching in double quick time. When this was effected, notwithstanding the troops being exhausted, they were pushed forward to the Angostura, which thus made the day's tramp in all some 12 leagues. The fatigue alone killed several soldiers, who remained stretched upon the road. When the infantry came up, the brigade of General Mejía took a position to the left in the cornfields, and was supported by a corps of cavalry. The remainder of the infantry being placed upon the right, formed in two lines, with sufficient reserves and batteries. The brigades of cavalry were halted in the rear.

The General-in-chief directed Ampudia to occupy with the light corps a mountain that had remained abandoned on our right, and which was extremely important to deciding the action. These troops moved towards this position, and General Taylor at the same instant perceived the mistake he had made. In order to retrieve his error, he sent a respectable force in the same direction, in hopes



BUENA VISTA

Outline of the Battle on the 22d and 23d of
February, 1847, in the
ANGOSTURA.

EXPLANATION

A *Light corps on the night of the 22nd.*
B *Mexican infantry and 3 batteries*
C *" Cavalry and "*
RD. *First position on the 23d of the divisions of Pacheco Lombardini and Ortega.*
L *Mejia's Brigade on the night of the 22nd*
M *Column of Blanco on the 23rd*
N *Second Position*
C' *Cavalry after the first charge*
C'' *" " second "*
K *Battery of the 24s*
PP' *" " Micheltorena*
N' *Third position*
GG'. *Position of the Hussars*
Z *Corps of observation*
X. *Andrade's Cavalry in reserve*
V *General park*
F *Brigade of light Artillery*
Q *Head quarters*

AMERICANS

S *Infantry on the night of the 22nd*
T *First position*
T' *Last position*
R *Brigade of observation on the morning of the 23rd*

herman lith.
120 Fulton St. N.Y.

to anticipate our reaching the point. The two divisions approached each other, and knowing that the occupation of the mountain would not now be an easy undertaking, and that it would belong to the victor, they opened their fire and joined in a fierce struggle. Besides the opposition of the enemy, this eminence presented in itself weighty obstacles. The ascent was almost perpendicular, and consequently to take the park along there were painful difficulties, making it necessary to adopt a thousand expedients to overcome them.

The action was prolonged with animation, and when the night had completely closed in, the result was even then doubtful. The light corps fought courageously, and the other part of the army, simple spectators of the battle, followed with their eyes the direction of the fires, anxious between doubt and hope. "As soon as it was dark," continues the account before quoted, "the scene was magnificent. A cloud of fire was seen in fact floating in the skies, which increased or diminished as the enemy gained or lost ground." At last the Americans gave way, their soldiers retreated, and ours scaled a summit as desperately defended as intrepidly won.

For the balance of the night they bivouacked in front of the enemy. It had rained: the cold was intense: and to make fires was not proper, as all lights had been prohibited in the camp. The greater portion of the army awaited the action indifferent and tranquil, as if death were not ringing in sounds about their heads. Meanwhile some officers watched, oppressed with reflections which prevail on the eve of a great battle.

The 23d commenced, and the first dawn of that ever-memorable day was saluted by martial strains from all the corps. General Santa Anna was now on his horse, giving directions. The fire of the cannon opened, the troops took their positions, and the brigade of General Mejía passed from the left to the right of the road. The battle soon after became general, and as there was no time to prepare food, the soldiers fought all day without eating.

The action began at the mountain gained in the evening, where the enemy now contended with our light corps without success. Between seven and eight in the morning the General-in-chief gave the order to charge. All the troops now advanced, moving in a parallel line of battle. By the road moved forward a column under the orders of General Blanco (D. Santiago), composed of the battalions of Sappers, the mixed of Tampico, and the Fijo de Mexico; their left being supported by the regiment of Husares. To the right of this column was the division of Lombardini, forming the centre, and at his side was that of Pacheco. A little further back still to the right, serving as a reserve, followed that of General Ortega. General Ampudia, with the light corps, reinforced by the 4th of the line, continued fighting with the American force at the foot of the mountain.

The line of the enemy was oblique, wherefore when our army marched in line parallel as we have said the column on the road received a destructive fire from cannon, while the other divisions were yet distant from the Americans. However, it was not disconcerted, and the soldiers fearlessly rushed forward, closing up the gaps which the balls opened in their ranks, with musket to the shoulder, and desiring to come to the bayonet to avenge their slain comrades, sacrificed with impunity. But General Santa Anna perceiving the slaughter ordered a halt, sheltering them behind a slight undulation which shut out the enemy's fire.

In the meanwhile the divisions of Lombardini and Pacheco had debouched and were at the points contested. When the action began Lombardini received an honorable wound, which caused him to retire, and the command devolved upon General Perez. The troops of General Pacheco, almost entirely raw recruits, were shaken and soon disbanded, pressed by the unerring fire which they received in the front, and moreover even another in flank which effectually threw them into disorder. The dispersion was general. In vain Pacheco, with a valor worthy of eulogy, endeavored to hold his men, who never halted until they reached the last ranks. The enemy, desirous of improving their advantage, hastened to complete the victory and advanced with intrepidity. But the division of General Perez calmly and steadily made a change of front to the right, and obliged them to retire. This skilful movement was seconded by a battery of 8, which Captain Ballarta had charge of, and which Santa Anna had placed under the orders of the serene General Micheltorena. The fire from these pieces occasioned a considerable loss to the Americans. Each discharge was effective from the short distance at which they fought, being only that of a small hill. The enemy who had dreamed for a moment of victory retired, routed, leaving the field covered with bodies, the brave mixed up on both sides who had fallen in this bloody conflict.

The ardor had been great with all who had here been engaged. Now our soldiers ascending the hill charged with the bayonet, now descending the barranca closed with the enemy, and again climbing up without ceasing to fight, and again turned like an avalanche from above headlong to the bottom. Thus they gained and lost ground, thus appeared the most distinguished, and thus at last they remained masters of the place achieved by such heroic efforts. The triumph would at that instant have been complete if the cavalry had been at hand to dash upon the broken remains of the conquered forces. Unfortunately this was at a distance, and when it came up, it met them already reformed. But it charged with boldness, under the direction of the valiant General Juvera. All did their duty, and General D. Angel Guzman, colonel of the regiment of Morelia, distinguished himself in a special manner, pursuing the enemy to the hacienda of Buena Vista. Part of the cavalry followed so far in the chase that to return to our camp, they had to take to the rear of Taylor's troops and pass out by the left of the position.

In the first to which we have referred, the Mexicans had conquered. But the advantages which the ground afforded to the enemy, required continued efforts, and not one victory, but many.

Rallying their troops upon the top of a hill, they at once reformed them, and it was necessary to proceed by taking hill after hill. The column which we had left upon the road, sheltered by the unevenness of the ground, came now to form the reserve of the line. Our troops advanced in good order; the battery of General Micheltorena alone which played upon our side, destroyed the enemy, and it came to the bayonet, with the soldiers fighting hand to hand. For the second time our brave men conquered. The Americans rallied on the next hill top, leaving for a trophy one piece of cannon and three flags.

At this time some persons for a parley presented themselves to the General-in-chief, intimating for him to surrender. Santa Anna answered with dignity, and refused to accede to so original a request. We should have passed over this incident in silence, as unimportant, if it were not for the fact that the envoy of this parley communicated, that General Taylor was under the impression Santa Anna had sent previously another to him, and that officer has so certified in his official report. To clear up the affair, we will explain in what this mistake consisted.

At the second charge of our troops a lieutenant, D. José Maria Montoya, who was in the front rank, became mixed up with the Americans. Seeing himself alone, and not desiring to be killed nor taken prisoner, he availed himself of a stratagem to feign a parley, whereby he was carried into the presence of General Taylor. This was followed by his returning to our camp accompanied by two officers of their army, to have an interview with General Santa Anna. But Montoya, who had his reasons for not presenting himself, separated from the commissioners, who fulfilled their instructions.*

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* This personal anecdote does not embellish the text, nor does it seem to have been introduced for that purpose, but only to create the impression that Santa Anna had not summoned Taylor to surrender, but that Taylor had, on the contrary, summoned him. On the 22d at 11 o'clock in the morning the American General received a *written* communication from Santa Anna,

After the second combat, which was in the morning between ten and eleven, a light drizzling rain fell. Our troops now took some rest and at twelve returned to march again upon the positions of the enemy. The Sappers and other corps who were in reserve having at this time already turned to engage in the battle, General Taylor believed our left was weak. He therefore advanced some forces in that direction, who met with an unconquerable resistance. The brigade of Torrejon charged upon them, and they lost many officers and soldiers. The action became general; our line advanced; the light corps, who in the course of the battle had made the troops which they met give way, and were now at the very extreme end of the brow of a hill, closed with the enemy. Again the affray became

informing him that he was surrounded by 20,000 Mexican troops, and demanding of him to surrender. This note was soon after answered in another declining to do so, and which was carried to the Mexican head-quarters. The correspondence is still preserved among the official papers of the American staff.

The story of José Montoya may be true, in substance, for Taylor on the 23d did receive a verbal message from the Mexicans, purporting to come from their head-quarters. He therefore sent General Wool to learn what was wanted, and stopped firing, but that officer, as General Taylor says, "upon reaching the Mexican lines, could not cause the enemy to cease their fire, and accordingly returned without having an interview."

Montoga is a young man of excellent manners, of some scientific acquirements, of good character, and conversant with the French, but not the English language. He is now employed in the office of topography and statistics in the war department of Mexico. There are many reasons for believing his statement to be veracious. Yet no one will imagine that a summons for a surrender to General Taylor was absurdly answered by the same demand in return being made of Santa Anna. The whole object of the text is to insinuate the belief that the respective forces were so nearly equal in numbers that the American General entered the action flushed with the most sanguine anticipations.

General Taylor had no more thoughts of summoning Santa Anna to surrender than he had of sending him a challenge to single combat.—Am. Ed.

desperate, the dead and wounded increased on both sides; the one attacked gallantly, the other defended bravely; none yielded; the combat was prolonged for whole hours, and at the end only after unheard of efforts did they succeed in rolling the enemy to their last position. Two more of their pieces and a field forge fell into our hands.

At this time there came on a heavy shower of rain, and the troops, dead with fatigue, halted. Taylor having tenaciously receded from hill to hill, and losing all, after an obstinate resistance, prepared to make his final stand before yielding the palm of victory. But the battle had ceased; the charge feebly made was the last stroke of our forces. The enemy did not believe themselves routed, for so well had they lost all their positions, except one, which was sufficient still to present a hostile attitude, that they feigned the glory of having conquered. On our part the army was proclaimed victorious, alleging in proof the trophies captured, the positions taken, and the divisions vanquished. The truth is, our arms routed the Americans in all the encounters, and so far the issue of the battle was favorable to us. There had been three partial triumphs, but not a complete victory.

During the action the brigade of General Miñon was in the rear of Taylor's army, sometimes near to Buena Vista, sometimes to Saltillo. Its inaction has given rise to a warm controversy between Generals Santa Anna and Miñon, into which we will not enter, for our principal object is to refer to events as they transpired, without taking part in discussions which have arisen from them.

The nation has cause to lament the serious losses in this battle. There the blood of her bravest sons flowed copiously, and forty officers were borne off wounded. Among the killed we must mention the Lieut.-colonels D. Francisco Berra and D. Felix Azoños; commandante of battalion, D. Julian de los Rios, and commandantes of squadron, D. Ignacio Peña, D. Juan Lullando, and D. José Santoyo, who fell upon the field of battle.

In the above description we have done no more than explain the movements of the army as a whole, omitting strokes of valor and patriotism, which could not be inserted in this class of articles. Upon the whole, however, we must say in general, that to the many persons whose conduct has been eulogized with justice, there are more who merit equally the estimation of their fellow-citizens. It was seen that various chiefs of corps took their flags in hand, led on their soldiers to action, and occupied the posts of the greatest danger. The officers behaved with dignity and proper deportment. The valor of the troops has extorted praise even from the very enemy, who have only spoken ill of some generals, alleging that if all had imitated the example of the subordinates, the issue of the battle would have been decided in our favor.

General Santa Anna has not been embraced in this accusation. Friends and enemies have recognised the valor with which he constantly braved the fire. It is to be regretted his combinations did not correspond with his gallantry, that his errors dim the splendor of his merits, and that while it is painful to blame his conduct as a general, it is also pleasing to praise his courage as a soldier.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARMY WITHDRAWS TO SAN LUIS—MARCH TO CERRO GORDO.

The battle of the Angostura had ended. The columns, masters of the field of action, received the unexpected order to stop fighting and retire at sundown to Aguanueva. There they met with provisions and supplies so much needed, and which were wanting in the place where they had fought. The drawing off commenced with the artillery, trains and wagons, followed by the different brigades and corps. General Torrejon, with the third brigade, composed of the 3d, 7th, and 8th regiments, and the active of Guanajuato, remained, charged with the duty of passing the night on the field and of making fires over the whole extent to deceive the enemy.

Our soldiers had displayed a valor worthy of a better fate; they had rushed boldly upon the enemy, crossing barrancas, ascending hills, and throwing themselves on the American batteries, which swept their ranks. They had fallen killed or wounded, and with their last breath had shouted "Viva Republica." Thus fighting in a cause less just, were those brave men endeared to the grand army, which the captain of the age commanded, who, falling in battle, sent forth in their agony no other cries than "*Vive la France*," "*Vive l'Empereur*."

Those whose wounds were slight, were carried a half league from the battle field, and there, with the pure atmosphere, with some few appliances, and with limited and insufficient medical supplies, cures were effected. Such was the surgical hospital, in which might be seen the chiefs of the highest distinction and rank down to the most miserable soldiers. These unfortunates had not learned even the fate reserved for them; they did not know that death would have been for many a less mournful evil and an enviable destiny.

In taking the road for Aguanueva a scene of horror was presented which moved the heart of those who had braved with serenity the danger in the most critical moments of the combat. The wounded were upwards of 800 in number, and the means of transportation were too few at their disposal to permit all being removed. It was imperative, therefore, to leave a portion to their unhappy fate. These men abandoned on a desert, steeped in their blood, shivering with cold, parched with thirst, without medical stores, without shelter, without food, saw their companions disappear, bearing with them all life and hope; and then was depicted on their livid countenances the appalling calmness of despair. In sight already might be viewed the jackals and the dogs, who awaited for the moment when they might begin their frightful banquet. Those who more fortunate could escape the horror of that night, had, in the future, one less cruel. They counted upon the sympathy of the enemy, and it is due to justice to say that they complied with the laws of war and the dictates of humanity.

On our side, they who had retired could not but feel a vivid grief for the wounded who had been abandoned. Many saw among them relations and friends from whom they were separating for ever, and without the power moreover of paying them the last tribute of affection, leaving to the buzzards to gorge upon their dead bodies. To complete the catalogue cf misfortunes, this was not the last pain suffered on the night of the 25th, and which will fill a page of woe in our military festivals.

The retreat had begun at sundown; but the army, which now formed a confused mass, marched slowly, the brigades embarrassing each other, and advancing with difficulty. Although the battle ground was not more than four leagues distant from Aguanueva, the advance only reached there at ten o'clock at night. This hacienda which the Americans, on retiring, had fired, even now was burning when our troops returned. On one side of the road was a slimy standing pond, into which the soldiers plunged, dying with thirst. But the water, instead of refreshing, only served to open the grave; since scarcely had they tasted it, when they expired in frightful convulsions. The few wounded who had got back to this place, and many who came wearied out, but not hurt, died in this manner; and their blood mixing with the scum upon the pond made the drinking intolerable. Yet there was no other water to appease the burning thirst of the troops, and there were not wanting some who touched their lips with this unclean, disgusting, and baneful liquid.

Soon the sight of the dead bodies, the death rattle of the dying, the moaning of the wounded, and the cursing of all, added new griefs to the spirits already sad with so many sufferings. The spectacle presented to view infused the most painful misery: the walking over the dead, and the trampling upon those who had not yet breathed their last. Here a woman was sobbing over the body, now lifeless, of her husband, and there, another ministering to hers, tortured with his wounds. Some washed dirty clothes in the water full of mire and blood. Some hushed their little children, who cried without knowing wherefore. The wagons and trains blocked up the road, the pack animals stumbled at every step. The saddle horses and draught mules, fatigued, and without anything to eat, could scarcely move. All was confusion, all wretched, and all enduring privations. At least, on the field of battle, the night, with its protecting shades, covered half the disasters; but in Aguanueva the picture of horrors of the retreat was revealed in all its deformity, illumined by the reddish glare of the burning pile, which mingled with the pale rays of the yellow and cheerless moon.

Finally, all the corps had arrived, and without establishing order or fixing regulations, things impossible at the time, the provisions on hand were distributed. The balance of the night was passed by the army, one part in seeking repose, and another part in enduring the agony for which means were wanting to alleviate. At dawn of day on the 24th the call beat; that warlike sound reanimated the troops, dissipating the depression on their minds in seeing how few had survived their toils and labors. The review which was ordered exhibited the immense loss of the army, caused not so much by those who fell in action, as by the dispersion of the night; a dispersion which continued on the subsequent days. The result was that the corps were reduced to mere skeletons, in which could hardly be seen some few officers and soldiers joined in groups around a flag.

To establish some order, the formation of new lines was decided upon, reorganizing the battalions with companies from different corps, till at last the army presented an imposing appearance. While this was being done, three American officers arrived in the character of commissioners. Conducted into the presence of the General-in-chief, they explained that our wounded had been collected and sent to Saltillo, where they would receive careful attention. They made, in the name of General Taylor, a high-flown eulogium upon the valor displayed by our troops in battle, and offered refreshments and provisions, which he knew were scarce in camp. They proposed ultimately an agreement for the suspension of arms, and for terminating the differences existing between the two nations. General Santa Anna answered, and thanked them for what was due, such as the meritorious deportment observed to the wounded, as well as for the generous offers they had made; but he could not entertain the proposition, let alone enter into a convention, not being authorized by the government, and, moreover, it was impossible while the territory was not free and occupied by the American forces.

In the course of the interview the General himself directed that, instead of the commissioners leaving the camp with their eyes bandaged, in conformity with established usages in such cases, they might pass before the army, observe its condition, and even review it if they wished. His object was to convince them with their own eyes that the falling back to Angostura had not originated in terror of the American arms, and that he was not wanting for another action in the requisite means, counting on a choice division, and stores and munitions in great abundance.

In effect, the commissioners, accompanied by two adjutants of Santa Anna, passed in review the forces who remained even under arms. Their martial aspect, their fine deportment, their discipline, and the valor, which were appreciated at Buena Vista, attracted the especial attention of the Americans, who pronounced eulogiums of all kinds. Among the cavalry corps those which they most noticed were the huzzars, cuirassiers, and the regiment number 7. They declared, however, that in the United States they estimated very lightly this arm, for they were convinced that it cost much and was of but very little service.

This military examination being over, the commissioners returned to General Taylor, having formed opinions sufficiently favorable of the Mexican army. Possibly, the imposing attitude conduced in part to prevent the Americans following and closing in, harassing the rear, and exposing it to all the reverses so frequent in retreat when fighting with a powerful and energetic enemy. But in truth that which principally freed us from these disasters was the actual state of weakness and inefficiency to which this battle had reduced the invading column.

In Aguanueva the General-in-chief, believing it proper to address the brave men whom he commanded, published a proclamation, in which he was prodigal of praise for their conduct in this memorable expedition. Recounting their services, he extolled their intrepidity, and in the height of enthusiasm denominated them "an army of heroes." This general, quick and careless in his mode of thinking, should have censured some whom he flattered, and treated as inefficient and cowards the same chiefs whom he complimented in his proclamation.

At night he ordered a junta of general officers to hear their opinion on the course that ought to be taken. All were of the same mind with the General-in-chief, and consequently it was resolved that the army should continue their retreat to San Luis. Not one who assisted at the junta opposed a determination which was to be so unfortunate for us. Some days after, General Miñon expressed his opinion entirely at variance with that adopted, and making it known in a strong protest signed by all the chiefs of his brigade. This greatly influenced the treatment which very soon he received from Santa Anna.

For the purpose of diminishing the difficulties and embarrassments which were perceived, he directed that all the cripples should be taken first, and they, in fact, began to start on that same day. On the 25th those followed who had to then remained, and the fate of some was in truth sufficiently doleful. The small beds on which they carried those of the greatest weight had been made hastily of strips of wood, others with muskets. The sufferers wanted mattresses, sheets, and pillows, contented with the protection of some coarse frieze, without much being left of this even for an awning. Most of the wounded went in 30 carts, drawn by oxen, who had been selected there in preference to those having less hopes of recovery. Various officers also were borne forward, carried by their soldiers, among whom there were many who watched with the greatest attention. Others, on the contrary, availed themselves of the occasion to commit crimes. They dispersed, and they deserted not without first robbing their unfortunate officers, and bearing their cruelty to the extreme of killing them for the greater security to their wickedness. In fine the most humane and generous actions formed a notable contrast with the most opposite, which could not be avoided in the universal confusion and tumult.

The same disorder facilitating the soldiers in separating from the ranks, caused a large dispersion. Those who, endowed with more constancy, followed their banners, anticipated being victims of new sufferings. The day's journey from Aguanueva to the Encarnation was 14 leagues. To this large space was added the want of wholesome sustenance: of the most serious, even that of water, they had not one drop: and the painful sensation of awful cold penetrated to the marrow of the bones. There was no hope of these evils being remedied until they arrived at Matehuala, a point at which some supplies had been collected.

General Santa Anna, saying that he was going to prepare for the troops, separated from them and proceeded on with his staff. Before making this speech, he ordered Ampudia to the command of the army and to be recognised in that character. This appointment produced a decided discontent. The greater part of the generals disowned the act by which he was invested with rank over them. They manifested their repugnance openly which they experienced in serving under his orders. Thus this erroneous measure only inflamed their minds, and added a new element of discord to the evils they endured.

The universal discontent soon obliged Santa Anna to separate Ampudia from the command and intrust it to General Pacheco. But he at the Salado had left the army. The result, then, was, that having no one in the position of General-in-chief, each brigade marched independently of the others, which may be supposed to have increased the confusion and disorder.

Such accidents, constantly happening, necessarily affected the morale, already much relaxed, of the soldier. On the brigades arriving at the Encarnation, a general dismay was noticed, and which every moment was augmented. All classes were equally disgusted, for their hardships were in common, and none had a better lot than others.

In this hacienda they waited for the union of the whole force, and continued on, in the morning of the 26th. The head-quarters followed General Santa Anna to San Salvador, and moved from thence one day's march in advance. The brigades passed the night there also, and in consequence of a new disposition, the cavalry remained covering the retreat.

On the 27th they marched to the Salado, walking this day 11 leagues. There was unfolded a new misfortune, which was the most serious that they had yet encountered. The food in the days before had been reduced to detestable and putrid meat, and the water which they drank was brackish. Those who had taken these unhealthy aliments were attacked with a violent dysentery, which spread with a gloomy prevalence until very few were free from it. The ravages of the infirmity became extremely deplorable: death devoured the unfortunate troops, so that every day a considerable number died. The army seemed made up of dead men: the miserable condition to which the sick were reduced caused the skin of many to stick to their bones, and its shrinking exposed their teeth, giving to the countenance the expression of a forced laugh, which filled one with horror.

At las Animas, a place where they halted on the 28th, after a day's march of 8 leagues, they were enabled to distribute some rice among the infirm. Before this, some wounded officers had arrived here, who had been served gratuitously by an old disgusting crone, to whom, from her hateful aspect, they had given the name of "the witch." The charitable woman, with a generous efficacy, devoted herself to attending these chiefs, healing their wounds, preparing their food, and making bandages and lint out of the edging of her shifts, of rather an equivocal color, until they loved her for her attentions. Such conduct could not fail to excite their gratitude; the carefulness of this old person gained their good will, and romancing their gratefulness to the poor nurse, they viewed her as an angel of consolation, whom, a little before, they had called a witch in contempt and in jest.

In las Animas, they sustained a new calamity. It appeared that these formed an interminable series, and that the army should be perplexed with one on the back of another. That which now happened was a destructive storm, which overcame the small strength left to them. The only alleviation which they experienced in the midst of continual disaster was a small improvement in their food, whereby they could give a reduced ration of rice.

On the subsequent day, which was the 29th, they made another 11 leagues. This day's journey brought them to the Cedral, where they found the first healthy and nutritious food so essential for the troops. They also discovered a medical store, a precious object, for as many sick as came. We must not pass in silence those supplies which Señor Yari gave them, with a generous disinterestedness, taking compassion on the situation of his companions in arms.

D. José María Oronoz, a captain of hussars, died in the Cedral. He was an adjutant of General Santa Anna, aged 23 years, and the glorious wounds received in the Angostura caused his loss. His death was felt even the more, from the interest which his brother, the Lieut.-colonel, D. Carlos Oronoz, inspired, and who had come to assist him with his tender assiduity. These brothers were models of fraternal love; they were always seen together, and in all things they assisted each other, sharing equally their griefs and their joys. In danger, each one forgot self to think only of his brother; and this affectionate union gave a brightness to their fine manners as gentlemen, to their good conduct as citizens, and to their valor and serenity as soldiers. The grief which distracted the heart of D. Carlos was such that many had more sympathy for him than for the wounded himself. When he died his friends officiated, full of sorrow, at his funeral, and extorted from his brother the place where the mortal remains should rest of one of the most distinguished officers of the north.

Another of the events which was most observed on this occasion was the religious faith of which the veterans gave proof, whose incessant sufferings had infused into their souls the salutary desire to seek consolation in the doctrines of Him crucified. They were seen to enter the church, kneeling down, and remaining for a long time in fervent prayer. The sight of a brave warrior, who, prostrate before the altars of the God Omnipotent, implores his assistance, is a beautiful spectacle, and reveals the nothingness of human greatness. It is somewhat majestic and sublime to see a man respected and feared by his followers, recognising his own insignificance, and praying with devotion and humbleness in the temple of his Creator.

The march on the 30th was from the Cedral to Matehuala, a place where, as we have before intimated, it was hoped to meet a considerable collection of supplies; and for so large a population, it could be believed that they would give a favorable welcome to the troops. This anticipation soon was dissipated. The reception was cold and contemptuous. This town saw with indifference the misfortunes falling upon the army, as if they touched strangers, without any connecting links with its inhabitants. The blow they had received, where they had expected a solace for their sufferings, was severe, for it indicated that their immense sufferings were not appreciated.

The brigades became so fatigued, that it was requisite to devote two days to rest, which, being passed, the order was given to pursue the retreat to San Luis. Before leaving, news was received from Mexico, extremely unpleasant, which was that a pronunciamento had succeeded against the administration of Farias. Great was the despondency which this disconsolate information produced. The brave men, who had gone to contend with a foreign enemy, saw with a heavy heart that our intestine dissensions were not forgotten when the menaced invasion destroyed all things, like a fire which spreads rapidly in a thick wood, full of combustible materials. The proximity of danger, which Vera Cruz felt, gave a new throb to their sad forebodings. The nation attacked first in the north, next in the east, points of fatal augury, presented a spectacle to the world, in her fratricidal strife of the beautiful city, at whose gates the Americans were now rapping in their irruption.

In Matehuala the arrest of General Miñon was an event that caused a deep sensation. It was published, that to him, in the battle of the Angostura, the mistake was attributed for his not attacking the enemy, as had been agreed upon, and thus accusing him for our not having obtained a complete triumph. This antecedent, added to the protest mentioned above, and various remarks which, in the course of the campaign, Miñon had made on Santa Anna, upon his operations, irritated the latter to such a degree that he resolved to submit to a court the conduct of the censorious general. The order was to seize him and place him in rigorous and close confinement.

On the 1st of March they marched from Matehuala, and without any incident occurring of importance they arrived at Peñasco on the 8th. In the haciendas of the Presa and Solis the first symptoms of gratitude were manifested. Their proprietor aided the army with a generous hospitality; distributing also proper nourishment among the sick and wounded. On the way to the Venado new supplies were given with liberality and the greatest good will.

The troops made their entrance into San Luis Potosi on the 9th, where they were received with unequivocal testimonials of the public gratitude. This city, as well as the whole state of which it is the capital, gave repeated proofs of the patriotism of its inhabitants. Its excellent conduct, imitated by very few states, should put to the blush those who had not done their duty. This city gave the army a triumphal reception. The citizens endeavored in their courtesy, without sparing any efforts, to serve as far as they could the soldiers of the Angostura.

The remains of that army which had been seen to sally forth enthusiastic and respectable, returned dispirited, and reduced to a small number. The perplexities of the road had infused a new disorganization into the brigades. The corps came with a force greatly diminished, order lost, and discipline relaxed. The statement which these unfortunate troops now formed made only too plain the almost incredible disasters of the army. The loss sustained from the Angostura to San Luis exceeded 10,500 men.

Thus the force was reduced to one half of that which had been led to action. The ravages of the retreat were incalculable: those of a complete rout on the field of battle would have been less fatal. The enemy obtained all the results of a victory which they had lost; and as Voltaire said of the battle of Lepanto, which appeared as though the Turks had won, we could add, that it seemed the Americans had gained that of the Angostura.

The information received from Mexico induced General Santa Anna to decide upon prolonging the march with a part of the army, and, therefore, only four days of rest were given. But before pursuing this movement it is requisite to throw a cursory retrospective glance upon what had transpired in the capital.

When the national movement of the 6th of December overturned the administration of D. Valentin Canalizo, the submissive pupil of Santa Anna, he had retired to Habana, with much feeling against those who had effected his fall. Among these D. Manuel Gomez Pedraza was conspicuous, declaring war upon him, inflaming his enmity which he avowed from this time. Returning to the Republic he took no care at first to terminate this disagreeable dispute. Some time after only, some intelligent persons were convinced that it was their policy to change their plan and contract new relations of friendship with the man whom they had so cordially hated. Resolving then to follow these counsels, they effected a reconciliation with Pedraza, and Santa Anna sent from San Luis to Mexico, General D. Ignacio Basadre, before the army left to encounter the enemy, who brought various messages. But his coming was principally to make an agreement with Pedraza, respecting the future course of policy. The agent executed his commission in a favorable manner. Santa Anna espoused the Moderado party by offering to work in concert with their leaders, and relinquish the power, so that he might think only of making war on the Americans.

This was the state of the negotiations when he received the news of the pronunciamento, called that of the Polkos. The first idea that gave rise to it was, that the principal men of the Moderados had acted with duplicity to mislead them, and availing themselves of the opportunity, nad accomplished a rising in opposition. Santa Anna had not forgotten the deception in 1844. His fall at that time was his nightmare, and thus he believed a new pronunciamento was another 6th of December. With this erroneous conviction, he thought of nothing more than to sustain the administration of Farias. Therefore, he marched upon them two brigades, designed soon after without effect to reinforce Vera Cruz, and which fought at Cerro-Gordo, but whose first destiny was to do battle with the Polkos. Santa Anna being called to Mexico, determined to present himself in the capital, supported by the force drawn from the army of the North.

Before his departure from San Luis he made a new incorporation of corps, which contributed to re-establish order and strengthen the soldiers. He left General D. Ignacio Mora y Villamil in his place, intrusting him with the command-in-chief of the army. Too full to forget the insults and injuries of the Generals and chiefs whom he had before eulogised, he called them careless and inefficient, and separated from them without leaving any other reminiscence, than this crimination.

The deputy D. Juan Othon met him in San Miguel el Grande, sent from the *puro* party to confirm him against the revolution. In his own mind being disposed against it, the undertaking was not difficult. He was strengthened in the idea to favor the government, intervening in the question with an armed force. He sent forward his adjutant, Lieut.-colonel Cadena, to announce his coming, and to hear the real opinions of the contending parties. He charged him in particular to deliver to Lemus a letter in which he protested he would defend him at all risk: for a partisan then the most bitter of Puros, he was a jacobin of the red cap.

Not wishing to command the brigades in person he placed over them General D. Ciriaco Vasquez, and then proceeded with his adjutants.

The troops having orders to make double marches took the road for Santa María del Rio, and were only 5 days in coming to Querétaro.

In the town of Santa Rosa, 4 leagues from that city, a commission of deputies of the Moderados presented themselves, composed of D. Ramon Pacheco, and D. Eugenio María Aguirre. Their object in coming was to interrogate Santa Anna, being persuaded that he would patronize the pronunciamento. The arguments of the commission somewhat influenced his mind prepared beforehand by a paper which Pedraza sent to him, indicating the stability given to the revolution. Therefore he began to vacillate, and to change entirely his conduct to Othon whom he had overpowered with his opinions. To this place he had occupied his carriage, but from thence he travelled on horseback. The head-quarters arrived at Querétaro. The reception made for General Santa Anna was as splendid as that at San Luis. The citizens testified the greatest enthusiasm, solemnizing with a spirited jubilee, the entrance into their capital of the chief who had fought gallantly with the enemy. This was a feast day for all the inhabitants. In the night they made fires, complimented the General with a sumptuous banquet; and all the authorities striving with their neighbors to treat with the utmost kindness those who accompanied him.

Santa Anna received what he had already anticipated in Querétaro, another commission of Polkos formed of General Salas, the Lic. D. Guadalupe Covarrubias and his brother, the Dr. D. José. Being admitted to a private conference they presented the new turn which the pronunciamento had taken, the state in which it was guarded, and the elements that were favorable. Their explanations succeeded in deciding the President-general in its favor, in which he was not a little cautious in saying that he should do nothing against it, and before being recognised as first magistrate of the Republic he hoped the question settled. From this moment he entered into the plan of the pronunciamento, treating its messengers with great distinction, without opposing the government to it.

From Querétaro he started for San Juan del Rio. The inhabitants of this city had always professed a peculiar esteem for him, receiving him also with vivas, applause, and all manner of festivities. He remained there for one day, and on the next halted at San Sebastian at the hacienda of the Señors Mossos.

It was not his intention to remain here, but to go on to Mexico, where his presence was waited for. But some intimated the risk in going without troops into a city in which more than ever was noticed the animosity of party feeling. From the remarks made he deemed it imprudent to enter without the support of some force into a question which was discussed with arms in their hands. Resolved therefore not to move until the huzzars arrived, he sent orders to them to hasten.

As soon as they came he took the road once more for the villa of Guadalupe. His residence in it presented the advantage of meeting near to the capital, without incurring the danger, and a position where he could terminate the contest. It is not part of the plan of this article to descend to the minor events of the time, nor allude to the mode in which tranquillity was re-established in Mexico. We must say only that on the next day the Te Deum was sung in thanks to the Almighty for the triumph of our arms; that persons distinguished of both parties endeavored to draw him to their respective sides; that a commission of Congress was present in the night, to administer the oath of office, for him to enter on the exercise of power; and that the Polkos and Puros depositing their arms, the state of alarm which had existed in the city for so many days ceased, and Santa Anna entered Mexico with his staff and the huzzars.

In passing the streets of the capital, the soldiers of the Angostura, who entered with Santa Anna, were sadly undeceived. The favorable reception which they had in all places from San Luis made them hope that in Mexico they would not be saluted with indifference. But no testimonial of affection came to swell their bosoms. Their entrance was accomplished without any manifestation of esteem or regard. Perhaps the coldness was caused by the evil genius of a general who had excited the prolonged revolution. But however it may be, the troops were astonished that not one viva—not one kind word, was given as a recompense for their many hardships.

Their chagrin increased soon after at the sight of the enthusiasm which the principal families of Mexico testified for the corps of the Polkos, that were going to destroy in one act an unpopular and unlucky administration, but, without dispute, still legal. The companies of Hidalgo, Victoria, Independencia, and Bravos, in passing the guard of the Palace, were saluted by the most distinguished ladies, who threw crowns of laurel and roses, and strewed flowers among the soldiers. A distinct one, granted by a graceful hand—the hand of beauty, repaid the honor, little to be envied, of having taken part in civil strife, in moments so unfortunate. But not one wreath, not one flower, was destined for those who came from giving battle in the most holy cause to a foreign enemy.

The National Guard of the Federal District gave a sad example. They pronounced against the institutions, and entered into a conspiracy. Many of those who sustained it and defended the plan were ignorant of its object. This was afterwards varied and more rational; but, at first, it was strongly marked with the finger of the clerical and monarquista parties. But, for its own honor, and for the welfare of the Republic, as proving the excellence of that institution, the National Guard of the District, in those days of tribulation for Mexico, in those days when the Almighty poured out his wrath on the unhappy people, it appeared grand, constant, and heroic. Its conduct in the campaign, and the intrepidity of which it gave an example in front of the Americans, effaced, if any vestige remained, the stain cast upon its banner, and the memory only of its error was retained, united, however, with its glorious reparation. The good patriots composing it ought now to be ashamed of the unworthy trophy which we do not hesitate to call the prostitution of the crowns. These might have been the reward conferred on true merit, encircling those of the defenders of Churubusco, of the combatants of the Molino del Rey. They were no more than a ridiculous caricature on the brows of the pronouncers of the Profesa, the house of Iturbide, of the hospital of Terceros.

While these events transpired in Mexico, an American army, under General Winfield Scott, landed near to Vera Cruz. He had been named chief of all the forces of the United States. He attacked this place, and it fell. The necessity of opposing a barrier to the invasion threatened from the East had become urgent. From an unavoidable mistake, not one of the many points on the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico had been fortified, which a small division could have defended. No disposition had been made, except some slow and inefficient, further than to post a few troops to check the advance of the enemy. To see the carelessness into which the administration had fallen, we might suppose that they believed always it required whole years to make preparations to repel the invasion which now encircled our heads.

General Santa Anna, with an energy worthy of all praise, organized a reinforcement to march against the Americans. He determined to leave the capital, and gave orders for the two brigades coming from San Luis not to enter the city, but to cross by Zumpango to the Vera Cruz road. By this he deprived these suffering soldiers of the pleasure of being for one moment with their families, who were for the most in the city. They had flattered themselves with the hope that they would enter, and this made the order the more painful. Having come within a short distance of Mexico, in a few hours more they hoped to descry the beautiful domes of the towers, but they were ordered to take another direction. This seemed to be giving to them the punishment which ingenious mythology declares was imposed on Tantalus. However, they resigned themselves to this new misfortune in consenting to separate themselves from what was dearest to them, and to proceed once more to battle against the invading army.

It is proper in this place to describe the force which composed this corps. The brigade of General D. Ciriaco Vasquez was formed of 4 light corps and the flying artillery: that of General D. Pedro Ampudia of the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 11th, of the line; and that of the cavalry of General Juvera of regiments the 5th and 9th, Morelia and Coraceros. The infantry counted 4,000 men, the cavalry 1,500, the artillery 150; being consequently a total of 5,650.

We must point out the route followed from Querétaro, which was to San Juan del Rio, Arroyozarco, Tula, Huehuetoca, Zumpango, San Juan Teotihuacan, Otumba, Apan, Huacatepec, Huamantla, Vireyes, Tepeyahualco, Perote, Jalapa, and Cerro-Gordo.

On arriving at Apan, a great number of stragglers followed the division with sore feet, and not able to pass further. Wherefore, in order for them to go on, they were placed on donkeys and carts which had left the capital for their assistance, and which arrived at this place.

The preparations for the campaign continued. The troops evacuated Mexico and Puebla to reinforce those on the road. They hastened their marches by brigades: for the difficulty of anticipating the enemy was understood, and of occupying one of the points where nature presented the greatest means for a successful defence. Those of art they deemed almost impossible, from the fact that they had been neglected when it was easy, and they did not believe any calculation could be made upon the time which General Scott would give them by his detention for a few days at Vera Cruz. On Good Friday, the 2d of April, the President of Mexico departed with the head-quarters. The executive power remained in the meantime deposited with Sr D. Pedro María Anaya, named by a majority of the National Congress.

The General-in-chief issued a proclamation to the Mexicans, promising victory to our arms, and concluding with a strong censure upon Vera Cruz, for the stain, he said, which her surrender had put upon her name. This language may be called unjust. Vera Cruz had not opened her gates to the invader. Vera Cruz, abandoned to her own resources, had defended herself. Vera Cruz had seen houses and temples destroyed, families fugitives and wanderers, and her children slain. Vera Cruz, finally, had not yielded until the plan of attack of the Americans proved clearly that she would suffer the greatest disasters, and a frightful slaughter, without the power of damaging the enemy, who, from a distance beyond the range of our guns, poured upon the city a storm of all kinds of projectiles. Santa Anna should not have desired a more obstinate defence, but he had the injustice to stigmatize her noble conduct as a stain.

To await the invading enemy the position of Cerro-Gordo was definitively chosen, in advance of Jalapa. This was famous in the time of the insurrection, and was viewed by scientific men as an excellent point for a defence that had to be scaled. To this position came, as we shall see, the brigades of the North, that had marched with precipitation.

While these are now at the termination of their expedition, yet in their fatigue and in their danger we shall not pause for one moment to consider them in connexion with the privations and toil which we have witnessed in individuals. The troops of whom we speak had walked from San Luis to the Angostura, 106 leagues; the same distance on their return, and 190 from San Luis to Cerro-Gordo, which is to say in all, 402 leagues. The marches had been the very worst, and the days' journeys very long; they had suffered from hunger and heat, thirst and cold, storms and sickness, pestilence and snows. They had twice traversed the desert; for two months and a half they had no rest; and, in this long chain of sufferings, the first link was a sanguinary battle in the North, and the last a disastrous overthrow in the East.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLKOS AND PUROS.

It is with pain that we must not only describe the disasters of the national war, but also the disgrace of civil discord, being as faithful as possible to the truth, and as sincere as we require to be, on what we think is never to be repeated.

We have said, in another chapter, that the wealthy people, moved perhaps by the instinct of self-preservation, had taken arms to place themselves in opposition to the rabble, to whom D. Valentin Gomez Farias had intrusted weapons; a rabble, properly so called, for they were neither troops of the line, disciplined according to the rigorous Spanish Ordinanza, nor the National Guard, composed of intelligent, industrious, and honorable citizens. We shall now see how those citizens, who had served so well in the capital, failed in their duty, and lost, for the moment at least, every claim which they had previously acquired to the gratitude of the nation. To the days of Churubusco and the Molino del Rey, they did not wash out the foul spot which blotted their patriotism and their reputation as National Guards.

We have already said that, ever since the Congress appointed General Santa Anna President, and D. Valentin Gomez Farias Vice-President of the Republic, disgust everywhere prevailed, excepting, as it may be conceived, among the partisans of both. The clergy were full of fear, on account of the measures which the administration might dictate respecting their wealth; and the *Moderado* party opposed, by favoring, as is usual in such cases, the wishes of the discontented, even where they were not exactly in conformity with their own ideas. Truth requires us to say that the appointment of General Santa Anna was not so ill received; and, as on the other hand, he was, at San Luis, wholly occupied with the organization of the army, the opposition made their first assault most directly against the administration of the vice-president.

A few days after the establishment of the new government, the question of property in mortmain was agitated in Congress. The Puro party, uniting with the Executive, made exertions truly prodigious, to destroy to the very root the power of the clergy, by attacking the foundation—that is, their wealth. The Moderado party, of which D. Mariano Oterö was the champion, in the chambers, became the supporters of the clergy, and opposed the Puros with all the parliamentary weapons that they could use, without omitting those delays and tricks which the rules allowed.

The law at length was published; but it was not a law frank and final, abolishing the statutes, and declaring the estates in mortmain to be the property of the Republic; but it was a project forced from the chamber by the majority of a party which put off, at a great distance, the concessions that the same majority had been forced to make, to its formidable and pertinacious opposition. In short, the taking of the ecclesiastical revenues was decreed, threatening the tenants with heavy fines, if they should not pay to the civil receivers the rents which they formerly delivered to the major-domos and the friars.

When the parliamentary arms of the Moderado party were not able to produce effect in so bitter a contest, the clergy appealed to the thunders of the church, which they kept in reserve for extreme cases. Excommunications were fulminated, and writings, threatening and fearful, were published, with punishments in the next world, for the crime of laying hands, in this life, on the money which the clergy enjoy and expend, and which, according to them, belongs only to the Lord. One priest after another ventured to say something in the pulpits, and also those devoted to the clergy formed a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government. And in this they found themselves agreeing with the monarchical party.

The chief officer of the Treasury, Huici, refused to sign the law, and, after several persons had been invited to take his place, and declined, on this sole but bitter condition, the Licentiate Don Antonio Horta was found willing to accept it, who entered upon the duties of the Minister of the Treasury for the interior, to the entire satisfaction of Farias. At the same time, the young Don Juan José Baz was appointed governor of the District, because the person who had held that office had refused to publish the edict. Whatever may be the observations or the mistakes of men on political subjects, it is always to be observed that, in difficult circumstances, the old selfish men retire, and young men come forward to overthrow obstacles, without regard to the present or the future.

General Santa Anna wrote, that he wished them to send him funds for the army, and nothing more; that, in all other questions, and particularly with respect to the clergy, he did not intend to interfere. He confined himself to recommending that they should not touch the canonicals nor the Collegiata of Guadalupe, as he had a great friendship for the former and much devotion towards the Virgin. The canonicals have treated General Santa Anna with the blackest ingratitude. With respect to the Virgin, pious believers think that she has visibly afforded him her protection, because, after all his adventures and campaigns, he is now safe and sound in Jamaica, enjoying excellent health.

The Executive, resolute in its determination to destroy the mortmains, persevered in dictating measures for the execution of the law, which, however, met with much opposition on the part of the tenants, and particularly the females, who generally wished to have nothing to do with those whom they called excommunicated.

It is proper here to give some idea of the elements which then composed the strength of the Executive, and of those which favored the Opposition, in order to show that, as they comprehended much discord, civil war was inevitable.

Don Valentin Gomez Farias was in Mexico, the chief of the Executive. This personage had succeeded in obtaining the favor of one part of the lower orders of people, while another, at the same time, held him in detestation. The friars feared him, the old women regarded him as a greater heretic than Luther, and the wealthy class could never reconcile themselves to his government: thus it is that, whenever he has had the misfortune to rise to power, he has retained it but for a short time, and descended from it to retire into concealment for several months.

The chief support which the administration found was from the Commandant-General, Don Pedro Lemus, an honorable man in the performance of his military duties, and from a portion of the deputies. The physical force consisted of several corps of the National Guard, badly equipped, badly armed, and without order or discipline.

These were the visible elements of the bad political state at that time; but the secret ones were even more powerful, and we will mention such of them as it is possible to reveal. General Basadre, who had come from San Luis, was in perfectly good understanding with the Moderado party. Don Manuel Gomez Pedraza held frequent correspondence, not confined merely to affairs of interior policy, but extending also to operations against the Americans. Whether Santa Anna acted with sincerity, whether he adopted, in whole or in part, the proposals of Pedraza, are points on which it would be impossible to decide with certainty, without possessing the correspondence of both: but the fact is, that Santa Anna was at that time inclined to join the Moderado party; and, if he had had the energy to rid himself of certain men, who have speculated on his friendship and his power, he might perhaps have perpetuated his government, and secured the happiness of the nation.

The clergy, being threatened with imminent danger, sought the support of the opposition, and in their turn managed to render it assistance; and the National Guard, which was called the Guard of the Polkos, and really consisted of the wealthy classes of the city, resolved not to permit their arms to be taken from their hands. The government had the imprudence to attempt such a measure, which hastened its fall.

But, more than this, the majority in Congress had almost agreed, before that time, to wrest the government from the hands of Don Valentin; and this step had been delayed only for a few days, because the manner of executing it had not been determined. Thus it was, as often happens, that the leaders of a party saw themselves abandoned, even by their partisans and friends, and left to their fate.

Such was the sad and fatal condition of the civil policy of the state. General Santa Anna, as we have said, had gone, with the army of San Luis, to the frontier, where General Taylor was with troops, which, if not very numerous, were much encouraged by the victories which we have had the sorrow to relate. Vera Cruz, in consequence of the change in the base of operations, was now threatened with a formidable invasion, prepared beforehand in the ports of New York and New Orleans; and the Cabinet of Washington intrusted it to one of their oldest and most experienced officers, Major-General Winfield Scott. General Santa Anna wrote, asking supplies: the Vera Cruzans, disposed for resistance, also anxiously demanded aid in money and men. The government, without these means, without credit to procure them, without any plan of operations to prevent so many and such imminent dangers, was engaged, as we have seen, in sustaining the contest which had been established between the powerful classes in the capital and those people who were called the Democracy. It will now be perceived, that our foreign enemies could not have chosen a more favorable opportunity to carry on the uninterrupted series of triumphs, which was prepared for their arms, by our discordant indecision, or, more properly speaking, that delirium, which never left us, even in the last hours of the country's agony. We can only believe, that such a state of distraction in the administration, was an inevitable sentence of Divine Providence, and that the passage of Scripture which mentions the confusion of the proud and lofty people who raised the Tower of Babel, was repeated anew in Mexico, in the year 1846.

Among these opposing interests, however, there was a regulating power. It is sad to relate, but that regulating power was General Don Joaquin Rangel, the same who had attacked, with armed force, the first magistrate of the Republic, in the national Palace. General Rangel had the Citadel under his command, with its artillery and a fine battalion of grenadiers, which had been raised, armed, and equipped, at great expense, and with immense sacrifices, in spite of the poverty of the national treasury. Insignificant as a single battalion of the line and a few pieces of artillery appeared, they formed no contemptible weight in the balance, where the physical force, existing in the capital, was available. Farias was afraid of Rangel, and, therefore, found means to flatter and please him to the utmost degree. Discontented men distrusted him, and even abhorred him, but wished to be able to count upon his support and co-operation. Thus, that chief, excited by the lofty position to which he had been raised by accident, acquired such a preponderance, that he even persuaded himself that he was to be the arbiter of the destiny of the nation.

The government being unchangeable, as we have seen, in their resolution to destroy the corps of the National Guard, called the Polkos, imagining that since it would be impossible at once to wrest the arms from their hands, formed the design of sending them to Vera Cruz, and actually gave the order for their march. One of the first which was to march was the Independencia; to be followed, successively, by the Bravos, Victoria, Mina, and Hidalgo. The commotion which this order spread through the city was great, and it was universally regarded as a way of revenge, chosen by the dominant party. All, moreover, desired to see the breaking out of the revolution, that in secret already had some combination, and for the command of which an individual had been designated.

The regiment of Independencia, which contained more than a thousand men, was posted in the University. Don Pedro María Anaya was the Colonel of this corps, Don Vicente Garcia Torres, Lieutenant-Colonel, and the following, among others, were Captains: the Licentiate Castañera y Najera, Don José María Lafragua, Don Mariano Otero, Don Joaquin Navarro, Don José María Revilla y Pedreguera.

On the evening of February 22d, 1847, the corps began to assemble, and the members of it found the quarters occupied by a force of the National Guard belonging to the Puros, which prevented those who entered from going out, and deprived them of their arms. The news of this occurrence was speedily circulated through the city, and the soldiers of the Independencia began to assemble in the old Coliseo, the Nationals of other corps went to their quarters, and the whole city was set in motion.

Pedro María Anaya at this moment had an explanation with D. Valentin Gomez Farias, from which it resulted that the whole regiment was to be transferred from the University to the hospital of Terceros, and remain there in quarters until its departure from the capital. This transfer was a virtual pronunciamento. The regiment was accompanied from its departure from the University until it arrived at the hospital of Terceros, by a multitude of people, crying, "Death to the Puros! Death to D. Valentin Gomez Farias!" The last hour of the government had now sounded.

About nine o'clock at night the ferment in the quarters of the Independencia regiment had become extraordinary. Garcia Torres, with a sword and a pair of pistols in his belt, excited the soldiers to make the pronunciamento at once. D. Joaquin Navarro disputed, and proclaimed that it was infamous to take such a step. Finally, there was a scene of confusion, vociferation and disorder difficult to describe. The most remarkable circumstance was, that this corps which may be said to have been already in revolt, could not count on any fixed combination with others, nor on a park. If the government had acted with energy and promptitude that night, fifteen hundred men and two pieces of artillery would have been sufficient to suppress the revolution; but D. Valentin, either too confident of his popularity, which he supposed to be immense, or stupified by the complication of so many events, took no active step, and confined himself to adopting a few precautions in the Palace. The same may be said of the discontented. If they had considered and arranged their plan and provided for the security of the Palace, the triumph would have been speedy and safe.

During the course of the night, some National Guards assembled in the quarters of Victorio, Mina, Bravos, and Hidalgo; D. Matias Peña made his appearance in a house in the direction of San Hipólito; D. Lucas Balderas in his quarter of San Diego; D. Manuel Payno, major of the Bravos, at the post of San Fernando; and the major-domos of the convents, who were officers of the battalion of Sappers, in that of San Hipólito. Several heights were occupied, the guard of La Acordada were surprised, and the beat of drums and the sound of the church bells announced that a part of the National Guard at last, inconsiderately and in haste, had passed the barrier which prudence and sacred duty prescribed, and which the country required, inundated almost in its whole extent by a foreign enemy. However, the movement met with general approbation in Mexico, for the government of Farias was now altogether intolerable to many.

The agents of the revolution had asserted that they had on their side Rangel and Norriega, who commanded the sixth regiment of infantry of the line, and the artillery; and with these forces, which they considered as a radical support, and with the aid of the corps of the National Guard, which they deemed insignificant, the revolution, whose only object was to separate Don Valentin Gomez Farias from the executive, would last but a few hours. This was a base deception, with which they compromised a multitude of persons, who came into the movement in the best faith, and who adhered to it afterwards, from a sentiment of honor.

The whole day of February 27th was spent in preparations. The insurgents established their line, which commenced in San Cosme and terminated in the Profesa. The government prepared for resistance, and also formed their line of defence, which reached from the Deputation and the houses of the Escalerillas, strengthened by the towers and strong edifices to Regina and San Pablo, leading through the streets of Salto del Agua, and terminating in the Citadel. There, Rangel, hesitating, sustained himself, but with the preparations necessary for attack and defence. Both parties began to dig their trenches and raise fortifications, and one half the city prepared to fight with the other, while the army was marching through remote deserts in search of the enemy, and the people of Vera Cruz were waiting each moment to see the sails of the enemy's ships appearing on the horizon.

In the night of the 27th, while the law of amnesty for the revolters was under discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, an advanced party from the Palace approached to station a piece of artillery in the street of Las Escalerillas. The firing began, accompanied with that of the battalion Victoria, and lasted, with activity, until about ten at night.

Let us see the forces and numbers of the belligerents. The battalion Bravos, in San Cosme and San Fernanda, 300 men. Battalion of Sappers in San Hipolito, 400. Mina battalion of artillery, in San Diego, 500, most of them disarmed. Battalion of Independencia, in the Hospital de Terceros, 800 men, armed. Battalion Victoria, in the Profesa, 600. Battalion Hidalgo, in the house of Iturbide, 500, armed. Cavalry of the line, about 150. Total, 3,250 men. And actually this number would nearly comprehend all those called Polkos. Among them was not a single piece of artillery.

The forces on the part of the government consisted of 1000 men of the battalion of Grenadiers of the line, 1000 of the battalion Libertad, commanded by Don Fermin Gomez Farias; about 1000 National Guards of the artillery battalions of Guerrero, Galeana, Verduzco, Matamoros, &c., some 300 cavalry of the line, and about 22 pieces of different calibre.

Things therefore did not appear so favorable to the Polkos, as was at first believed.

With respect to the plan of the pronunciamento, they had proceeded with much reserve, and, on the day following the opening of the fire, it was circulated only in certain parts of the city, and so sparingly, with such mystery as if it were a secret. It was an absurd plan, with a multitude of articles which destroyed the form of government established in August, which in no way appealed to the opinion of the states, and only tended to guarantee, in a direct manner, the property of the clergy, and to restore anew the domination of the monarchical ideas of the administration of General Paredes. This plan, as well as the secret arrangement to place General D. Matías Peña at the head of the movement, proved that it was the work of Pedraza, in the opinions of certain persons, while others insisted that it was produced by the little club held with great secresy by the clergy and their followers, and that the real author was D. Jose Guadalupe Covarrubias. We can assure our readers that D. Manuel Gomez Pedraza positively denied that it was his plan, and even added, in a house in the street of Santa Clara, where he was present on the very day of the commencement of the revolution, that it had been presented to him by an individual, and that he had condemned it; that he had made exertions to prevent the revolution, but that, when things admitted of no remedy, it was his duty to give it the best direction possible, by reducing the plan to two points, viz. to cast off Don Valentin Gomez Farias, and to negotiate in the chambers the repeal of the law of mortmain.

The press, which had labored to overthrow Paredes, which had at first supported the revolution of August, and which had opposed the administration of Farias, did not in general receive the pronunciamento with pleasure. The Monitor warmly took up the defence of the Polkos; in the Republicano appeared articles of different opinions, and Don Semplicis decidedly condemned, till the last moment, the movement by an armed force.

But, returning to the monstrous plan, whose author, be he who he may, deserves a severe reproach, it was really an apple of discord to those who had made the pronunciamento: for many of them, who were sincere republicans, considered themselves victims of treachery, effected by the clergy and their agents, with the only exclusive object of preserving their estates, by compromising the opinions and lives of many young men, and filling with consternation their families, and all the innocent population of the capital.

With regard to the government, although without possessing all the elements necessary to suppress the insurrection, they had sufficient to prevent its success. The plan of which we have spoken afforded them a new support; for many who had assisted the revolution, or at least remained neutral, now decided in favor of the government. The leading chiefs of the Moderado party concealed themselves; and others, in the juntas held by the deputies in the Academy of San Carlos, condemned the same persons whom they had drawn in, directly or indirectly, while they affected to feel grieved for them, and to ask their pardon. The Polkos, then, full of disgust, were delivered over to the major-domos of the monks, and other mystical personages of that nature, who insisted that the plan should in no wise be changed; that General Peña was entirely governed by them: and they carried their contempt so far, as to appropriate two dollars a day to the chiefs of the National Guard, a mean and shameful remuneration, which the greater part of them refused.

All these particulars, which were communicated by traitors, who are never wanting among parties, increased the pride of Don Valentin Gomez Farias, who was upheld by the tenacity and passion of certain Puros, whose vehement wishes were to destroy those they called Polkos; for it must be confessed that few revolutions ever commenced with such profound hatred, as that to which we have devoted the present chapter.

The Santanista party was regarded with the deepest detestation by Don Valentin Gomez Farias. It believed that his government was unable to send any kind of aid to the army; but, being too cautious decidedly to compromise itself without an express order from its chief, it had been exciting hopes among the discontented, and indirectly promising assistance to the government. Hostilities having once been commenced, and, persuaded by the publication of the plan, that the leaders of the revolution despised General Santa Anna, and designed to abandon him to his fate in the hands of General Taylor, it decided for Don Valentin, crowded around him, gave him its support, confirmed Rangel in his convictions, and joined the Puros, in order that it might completely destroy those called Polkos.

Colonel Noriega, as has been mentioned, commanded the sixth regiment of infantry of the line, which contained about 700 men, though not all of them armed, who had been detained in Mexico only for the want of resources to enable them to march to Vera Cruz. This regiment was stationed in the Convent of San Augustin. Before the revolution broke out, the agents of the movement, who pretended to be in the secret, declared that Noriega would pronounce in its favor: but this was not realized, because that chief discovered another way, more advantageous to himself, and remained perfectly neutral in the heart of the movement. The Polkos counted on him; for, if he had decided in favor of the government, he might, by immediately occupying a strong and commanding edifice, have done great injury to those in the Victoria barracks; and the government, although indignant at his truly singular conduct, took care to give him daily orders and to send him supplies for his troops, because they presumed that if Noriega had determined in favor of the Polkos, he would already have made the balance turn in their favor. All Mexico, and persons of both parties, criticised with bitterness the neutrality of Noriega, and General Santa Anna himself, when made acquainted with it, was filled with indignation.

The Licentiate Sierra y Rosso and General Vizcayno did not hesitate in deciding for the government, preferring the direction of the cabinet to military operations. Vizcayno took charge of the War department, and Sierro y Rosso of that of Justice, in the capacity of Chief. The Licentiate Horta succeeded to the Treasury department, and was also at the head of the Foreign Relations.

Since we have now given some idea, although a very succinct one, of the moral part of the revolution, we will speak of the military operations.

The command of the troops of the government was taken by General Don Valentin Canalizo, and General Don Lino Alcorta undertook the formation of plans for the destruction of the Polkos. Don Valentin did nothing more than pass through a few streets, at the head of the cavalry, surrounded by his aids; and Don Lino Alcorta, more enterprising, by turns arranged the strategic operations by posting the columns of attack, which did not fail to alarm the Polkos, but never went so far as to undertake anything serious against any point. Whether it was owing to want of skill, or, what is more probable, because the Mexican character is not the most inclined to bloodshed, it is certain that they did not execute the natural and sure plan proposed, which was, to direct fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery on one point, until it should be demolished and surrendered, and thus to proceed, successively battering in detail the edifices of greatest strength occupied by the Polkos. This operation might have been performed without risk, as the artillery might have been placed out of the range of musket shot.

Ever since the day following the pronunciamento, the fire had continued through the hours of daylight and part of the night, and was made from some of the towers against others. It was frightful, it is true, but wholly ineffectual, for both parties kept their respective positions, very few were killed or wounded, and more injuries were received by the people, who from necessity or curiosity passed through the streets.

The most important occurrences which can be mentioned, were an attack of two hours upon the house of San Cosme, known as that of Pinillos, an attack by General Rangel and Alcorta without effect, and the sally made by a few young men of the Polkos, to seize a piece of artillery, placed in the mouth of the street of La Palma.

After the lapse of a few days, an armistice of two hours a day was agreed upon by both parties, during which the soldiers not only went out to provide necessaries, but a kind of promenade was formed along the lines. The government obtained resources wherever they could, and the Polkos were fed by the money of the clergy, which was given out with much economy and parsimony, by some of the major-domos of the monks. After the lapse of fifteen days, neither of the opposing bands had any prospect of conquering or being conquered, and the peaceful inhabitants of the city were in a state of desperation.

While this was passing in Mexico, the revolutionists had sent letters and agents to different States. In Toluca, the Governor, Don Francisco Modesto Olaguibel, was inclined, if not to favor the revolution of the Polkos, at least to constitute himself an armed mediator, that he might by moral and physical power, put an end to a scandalous state of things which was extending beyond bounds. But the intrigues of some one of the secretaries of the State government, and the deputies of the legislature, led the Governor to change his object and his plans; and, although he afterwards came to the vicinity of the capital, it was done much more as an auxiliary of Don Valentin Gomez Farias, than as a sincere friend, desirous of proposing a middle ground between the exaggerated claims of the two parties. Some have thrown suspicion and some ridicule upon the conduct of Señor Olaguibel. We shall confine ourselves to our place, and only record facts.

The principal agent to second the movement in Puebla was General D. Joaquin Rea, and he was chosen by the partisans of the clergy, as a man supposed, with or without reason, to be intimately united with the regular and secular clergy of that city.

There was no deficiency in either money or inclination in a large share of the agents of that capital, to second the movement of the Polkos; but, either from the want of good arrangements, or the forces with which the Governor, D. Domingo Ibarra, opposed the undertaking, or other causes, which it is not important to ascertain, the movement was prematurely made, only a fraction of the troops of the National Guard pronouncing, and Puebla avoided a step that would have proved unfortunate, and which the party of the Exaltados would never have pardoned. In other States the plan was very unfavorably received, at least by the authorities; and the revolution continued to lose ground and become isolated, through the bad faith or unskilfulness of those who forged the plan and the extravagant selfishness of the major-domos of the monks, who had made themselves masters of the enterprise.

The camp of the insurgents was reinforced by General Salas, who arrived from Toluca with some forces of the National Guard of the neighboring towns, and a multitude of chiefs and officers of the army, who daily presented themselves. There was now a government in fact, and in right, which had its head-quarters at San Hipolito. The chests of the clergy formed the treasury, the contributions obtained by direct taxation, the sale of the monopolies of the line, the lottery fund and the administrations of Alcabalas and Tabaccos in the neighboring towns, which had taken part in the revolution. D. José Miguel Arroyo was the manager of these funds. There was also a general administration of mails, and an armory of artillery, where arms were repaired, and hand-grenades, musket balls, &c., were manufactured. Matters, however, proceeded very slowly.

We may confidently assert that one event, truly providential, caused the termination of this revolution, which threatened to continue for months. This was the imprisonment of D. Manuel Gomez Pedraza, in the Citadel. The deputies of the Moderado party, who cared little for the fate of many who were exposed to the shock, conceived a great apprehension for the life of Pedraza, and determined to take any measure which might remove him from the compromised situation in which he was placed. An agreement was therefore declared and signed by more than forty deputies, by which General Santa Anna was invited to accept the presidency of the Republic, and D. Eugenio Aguirre and D. José Ramon Pacheco were commissioned to deliver it to him in person. At the same time, Generals Peña and Salas appointed D. Manuel Payno, to march to meet General Santa Anna, who was on the way to Mexico, and communicate to him the actual state of the revolution and the class of persons engaged in it, and to correct any representations made to him by the partisans of D. Valentin Gomez Farias.

It is now necessary to refer to the operations which the Americans had effected in our territory, while we had been occupied with the miserable scenes laid before the eyes of the reader.

The expected and feared American expedition, to which we shall attend in a separate chapter, arrived at Vera Cruz. Mexico sent thither no supplies, either of men or of money; but Puebla alone, more free from the influence of revolution, hastened to transmit twenty thousand dollars: a signal service, performed by several merchants, and particularly Sr. D. Juan Mugica.

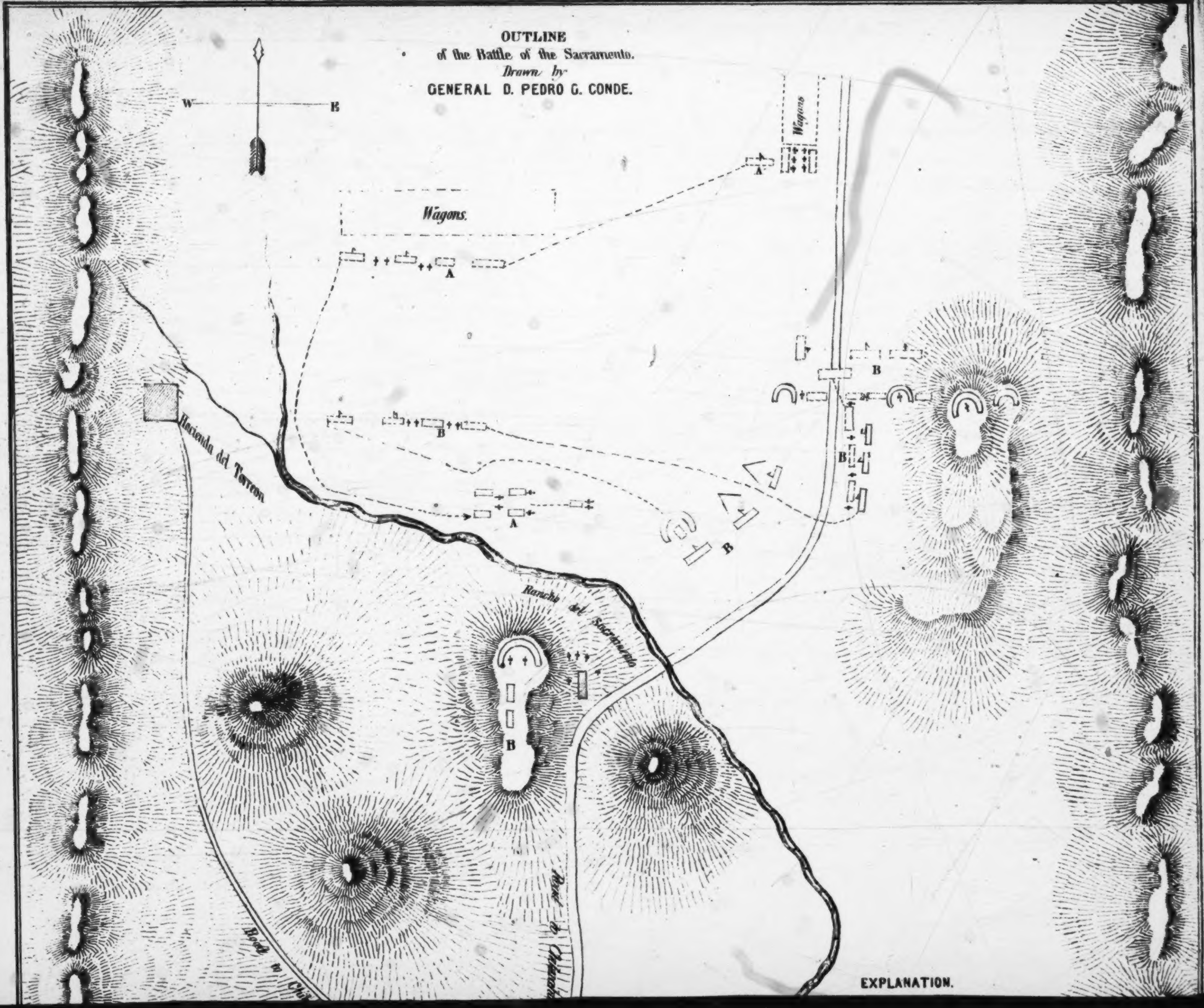
Santa Anna had experienced in the Angostura what we have already mentioned; and, on his return from San Luis, did not possess half the force with which he had marched. Fortune, however, as it always returns to him, afforded him the opportunity to enter and restore peace to the capital, and receive the power from the votes of the majority of the deputies, and immediately to put in practice active measures, which would at once make them forget the disaster at the Angostura.

As General Santa Anna had received a bulletin, in which was stated the change of plan, with a note in the margin with the signature and in the handwriting of Pedraza, and as other persons had written him with sentiments opposed to the government, he anticipated him by sending his Aide-de-camp, General Argüelles, with an imperative order to Farias to stop hostilities, and with compliments and kind words to General Peña, with whom Argüelles held a long conference.

On the morning of the 21st of March, General Santa Anna reached Guadalupe, and the firing immediately ceased. Pedraza was set at liberty, and families breathed freely again, after so many days of danger and calamity, blessing the man who had so often been the object of the benediction and the maledictions of the inhabitants of Mexico. The revolution was concluded in the most summary manner. The major-domos, as soon as General Santa Anna arrived at Guadalupe, refused even to give money for the pay for a few days, during which the National Guard, composed of artisans and poor men, was to remain at head-quarters. D. Miguel Arroyo suddenly closed his treasury; the few paid officers, as soon as they were deprived of their two dollars a day, hastened to fall upon the general treasury about to be established; General Peña deserted his revolutionary companions, to devote himself to conferences with General Santa Anna and other great personages; and honest men, who had come in good faith, said, with grief, that, in revolutions, labor is always expended for the benefit of three or four knaves, who speculate, as if on a flock of sheep, on the blood and lives of a hundred citizens. Fortunately this revolution did not triumph, which hypocrites and evil men wished to sanctify with medals, scapulars, and promotions, and to invest with a religious aspect, by introducing in the Republic a new and fatal element of division and discord. If in a political point of view, any excuse is made for the pronunciamento, by the corps of the National Guard, who acted in their own defence, the managers of it, who converted a noble and honorable band of youth into instruments of sordid ambition, doubtless deserve the anathema of every judicious and reflecting Mexican patriot.

Be it as it may, truth requires us to say, that the happy termination of this insurrection was owing to General Santa Anna; and that he saved a multitude of people, whose death would have filled Mexico with mourning.

OUTLINE
of the Battle of the Sacramento.
Drawn by
GENERAL D. PEDRO G. CONDE.



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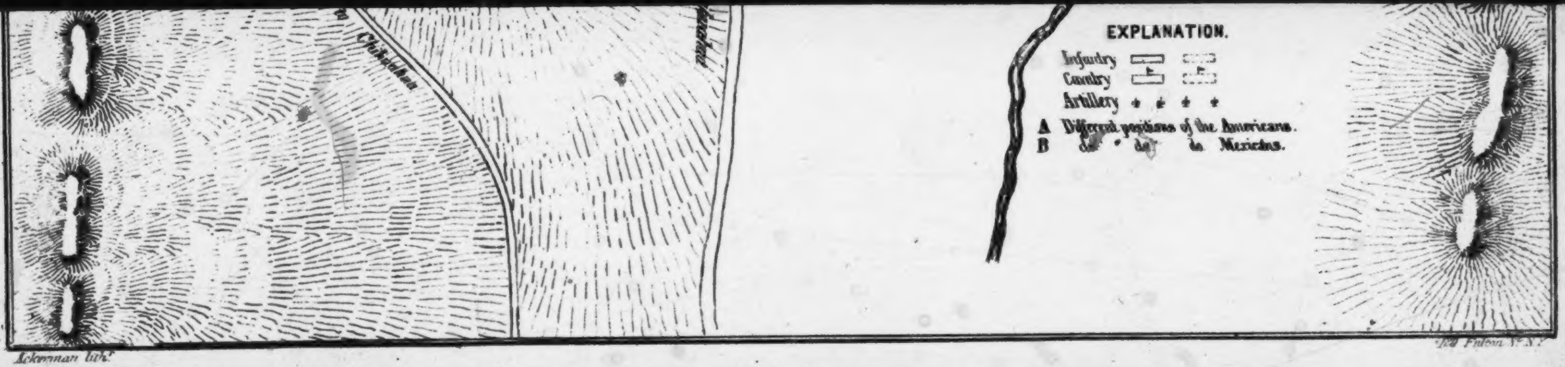

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CHAPTER IX.

THE BATTLE OF THE SACRAMENTO.

Dexterous in war, impelled and protected by the North Americans, the savage tribes inhabiting the deserts on our boundaries towards the United States, have long been the vanguard of that invasion which has penetrated to the capital of the Republic. By sowing discord among our infant society, and availing themselves of the savages to devastate our frontiers, the invaders prepared the way which was afterwards to lead to our palaces. From that time Chihuahua, left to her own resources, in a continual and disastrous contest with such ferocious enemies, losing, day by day, thousands of her sons, the riches of her fields, and the commerce and life of her towns, resisted that powerful shock by which our social edifice was assailed for its destruction. Weak, wearied out, without resources, and sometimes involved in the whirlwind of civil discord, her existence was barely sustained by the efforts of good citizens, who, setting everything aside for the public interest, put in exercise all their faculties to secure it. When the car which concealed our deceitful enemies came rolling on, we saw their armies on our territory declaring that we were the aggressors, and desiring to characterize as defensive their infamous usurpation.

The fatal names of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey, and New Mexico were successively branded upon our history; and Chihuahua, finding herself threatened by an American expedition close at hand, which appeared in the north of the state, raised her voice, more loud and mournful than ever, begging the federal government for aid, not only to save herself, but to defend the national independence. In vain the administration of that period attempted to protect them, by sending a thousand muskets and making arrangements for General Reyes to march immediately with some forces from Zacatecas to Durango, to organize a defence on that frontier. Vain was the expectation of saving her by such timely assistance; these preparations were frustrated, and the hopes of Chihuahua were deceived. Señor Heredia was appointed Commandant-General in exchange, which was generally very ill received.

Trias, who was at the head of the government, determined to make an attempt, hoping everything from the patriotism of those good citizens. Without artillery, arms, disciplined troops, and, above all, without resources, at that crisis in which the continuance of Indian war was added to the new danger, they were destitute of all the elements indispensable to organize forces fit to appear promptly in action. But the will, the energetic determination to contend with obstacles of every kind, in order to resist the enemy, was enough to attempt a defence apparently impossible.

With this resolution the state made a general movement, raised a loan among all the inhabitants, established a cannon foundry, collected all the remains of damaged arms that could be found, and repaired them for use, provided clothing for the National and permanent Guards which might be assembled, and exercised them as much as possible, and, in short, made provision for all kinds of supplies for the campaign, while the youths of the first families enlisted in the files of that little division, composed chiefly of artisans and country people.

These preparations for war had hardly been commenced before it was necessary to send out a section of fifteen hundred men to meet the enemy. At El Paso del Norte, more than a hundred leagues from Chihuahua, a few pickets were incorporated with this force from the companies of the Presidios, with armed men of the neighboring country, belonging to the disbanded squadrons formed by General D. Francisco García Conde, and seventy men of the active company of infantry of the District. With this reinforcement the section was augmented to about 2,000 men, with 4 pieces of artillery; and, as to resources, money was given to the commander, Colonel Gavino Cuilty, at El Paso, and the inhabitants of the neighborhood assisted him with horses, that the cavalry might be as well mounted as possible.

Such were the elements of power among these people for the repulse of the invader, when news was received that 300 Americans had approached Doña Ana, twenty-five leagues from El Paso. In these circumstances Colonel Cuilty gave notice that he had been attacked by a disease which, according to the surgeon of the army, D. Juan Duvos, was a brain fever, and was compelled to retire to Chihuahua, which he immediately did, in company with the surgeon, Captain Juan García, his adjutant, leaving the command (which was disputed by Lieutentant-Colonel Luis Vidal and the commandant of the squadron, D. Antonia Ponce) to the first of these two chiefs. Vidal, at the head of the section, on the 21st of December, marched to La Presa, one league distant from the city, where he had a temporary fortification erected; and, on the 24th, directed Ponce to advance, by the New Mexico road, with 500 horse, the 70 infantry of the active company of El Paso, and 15 artillery men, with a howitzer. This force encamped that night at the distance of four leagues, and, continuing their march on the following day, at length discovered the vanguard of the enemy, in a bend of the Bravo, a place known by the name of Temascalitos, eight leagues from El Paso.

The Americans, whose force consisted of 700 men, without a single piece of artillery, had encamped there, taking no precautions, which permitted Ponce to reconnoitre them to his satisfaction, and unobserved. He then gave orders that our forces should leave the road, so that they might raise no dust, and the track of the horses might be less perceptible on the grass, to surprise the enemy.

All this was done. The Americans, encamped in their wagons, did not discover the force of Ponce until it was in their front, and at a very short distance. They then ran to their arms, and Ponce gave the command to form for battle, placing the infantry in the centre, on the left wing the company of Collame, the auxiliary squadrons of El Paso, and a part of the company of Chihuahua, and on the right a picket of the second of cavalry, the company of the North, that of San Elceario, and the remainder of the Chihuahua, leaving the howitzer in the rear guard of the line.

We feel an invincible repugnance at having to describe acts so shameful as those we are about to relate, caused by unskilfulness so inexplicable, that they seem to have been produced by fatality.

Our forces had hardly taken their positions as above mentioned, when the Americans formed their line of battle in three ranks. Our infantry opened their fire, advancing over the field, and deploying their skirmishers, so that among these the howitzers could be discharged. The left wing of our cavalry also advanced in line of battle, led by Ponce himself, and the right wing extended by files. The enemy opened their fire, first by sections, then by platoons, and finally at will; but their first line soon fell into disorder, and fled towards the woods, where their officers endeavored to make them return to the action. Ponce then gave orders to sound the charge; and that sound (unheard of circumstance!) whether well or ill-executed by the trumpeter, whether intentionally or accidentally interpreted by the cavalry, is the signal of retreat. The left wing half-wheeled, and the right countermarched; and in this manner they retired in good order, while the infantry remained, fighting with the enemy, who had returned and re-formed. Ponce showed himself wounded, called his chaplain to his aid, three times ordered the infantry to retreat, who at last obeyed, and, leaving the command to Captain Carabajal, retired from the field. Carabajal ordered to sound a retreat, the cavalry obeyed, but, notwithstanding, they formed again at a quarter of a league, and continued their retreat in good order. The howitzer was abandoned, the park only being saved, and the enemy remaining victors. Thus, by such unexpected means, Providence brought this new blow upon us; but, as in all cases, left a brand upon those who were responsible for our misfortunes.

The infantry alone, after fighting on the retreat, encamped for the night in sight of the enemy, so that Carabajal, having now joined Ponce, whom he met on the road, arrived at La Presa with the cavalry, in good order, where Vidal, informed of what had taken place, made arrangements to retire from El Paso with all that force which really had not suffered any injury. Without losing a moment, supposing himself pursued and threatened by a terrible danger, and without ever taking the park necessary for the cannon, he immediately left the town, and proceeded, by forced marches, to Chihuahua, with all the troops under his command, except those of El Paso, which were disbanded. The Americans, in the meantime, fortified themselves on the spot where they had been attacked, and attended to the security of their persons as much as they had utterly neglected their horses, which were collected by some rancheros, who found them dispersed in the country. But, to crown our misfortunes, their groundless fear was converted into a triumphal reception, when, on the day following the action, a committee of the Ayuntamiento of El Paso presented itself, which came only to ask security for the inhabitants, most infamously abandoned.

On the same day, December 26th, the detested American standard was raised in the plaza of the city. This sad event was the last important occurrence of the mournful year 1846.

The year 1847 commenced, which has since passed, as it were in an instant, but has left us an age of recollections. The Americans, now masters of our frontiers, entered the country in different directions. Their fleet threatened Vera Cruz, and in the meanwhile the capital was giving to the world a scandalous spectacle. In the last days of February and the beginning of March, the enemy's cannon sounded at once on the Sacramento, in the Angostura and at Vera

Cruz; and this news was received at Mexico in the midst of the clamor of a fratricidal contest.

The Chihuahuans redoubled their exertions, after the loss of El Paso, to prevent the enemy from obtaining possession of their capital; and the illusion of enthusiasm excited the hope, not only of a good result in the defence, but the expulsion of the invaders from the State, and the efficacy of their auxiliaries in New Mexico, where they warmly desired the support of some armed force to rise against their oppressors.

Colonel Doniphan, commander of the American expedition, in the meantime, made preparations in El Paso, to advance upon Chihuahua, and finally took up his march, taking with him different prisoners whom he had made among the people, all of whom had distinguished themselves by their hatred of the invaders.

General Heredia, in concert with Trias, chose the point of the Sacramento, seven leagues from Chihuahua, on the road to New Mexico, to raise some fortifications, in which to resist the enemy, if before reaching that place he should not be able to fight them in open field. He also directed that General D. Pedro García Conde, who had lately arrived at the capital of the State, and presented himself to offer his services, having been appointed commander of the cavalry, should march out to meet the enemy, with 700 horse, to observe their movements, and to attack them if possible without hazarding a decisive engagement. In consequence, on the 21st of February, General Heredia marched with Trias, taking off the remains of their disposable forces, which consisted of 70 men of the 7th infantry, 250 of the active battalion of Chihuahua, 180 of the National Guard, 50 of the 2d squadron of Durango, added to the infantry for want of horses, 10 pieces of artillery, four, six, and eight pounders, with 119 artillerymen and 106 horses, belonging to the Durango squadron.

General García Conde advanced to the hacienda of Encenillas, 22 leagues from Chihuahua; and having there learned that the enemy had got possession of the well of the Gallego, he communicated the information to the General-in-chief, and fell back to the hacienda de Sauz, in order, as he said, to be able readily to join the main body of the division, in case the Americans should proceed by Aguanueva to Tabalopan.

General Heredia pushing on the division with Trias, arrived at the same hacienda de Sauz, where he met the cavalry just as they received the news, that the Americans were advancing directly on that point, and then apprised General García Conde, as soon as he should approach, to retire with his force to the Sacramento.

The division encamped there on the night of the 27th of February, and, now re-united, it amounted to about 2,000 men, under the command of General Heredia. Governor Trias, second in command; General García Conde commander of the cavalry, and Colonel Justiniani, major-general of the division, were the principal chiefs; and among the officers were found the flower of the young men of Chihuahua, burning with generous enthusiasm.

It was a division small indeed in number, but perfectly well armed, supplied with provisions of all kinds for a campaign in a desert for some months, all paid, to the last soldier, and with funds in the chest for the future. All the troops were clothed in the most comfortable and becoming manner, and furnished with sufficient park and all sorts of munitions of war. The good Chihuahuans looked with pride upon this result of their labors, and in every piece of artillery, every musket, in every object which presented itself to their sight, they recognised the fruit of their personal exertions. Of this nothing existed three months before. All was created by them, all was new, all was brilliant. And they were filled with delight in noting the maiden enthusiasm of the troops, whose confidence and hope of the future shone out in the joy of their countenances, the jubilee celebrated at their meeting, and the blind adhesion they manifested to their superiors. It was not only the prestige of command which these chiefs and officers used, it was popularity, frankness, and family influence, so to say, which prominent persons exercise in a small society. The enemy were to appear on the following day, according to the news received of their approach, and that night was a festival in the camp. In every tent, in every friendly group, cheerful toasts were drunk to the liberty of the country, the young men abandoning themselves to the illusive delirium of expected triumph, and thinking more of their expedition to New Mexico, to assist their brethren, and to cast off the American yoke, than of the approaching encounter, which they looked upon as less important than it was.

The plain of the Sacramento is bounded on the east and west by two chains of mountains, about two leagues and a half apart, between which passes the road from Chihuahua to Encenillas. At a league from the western range, some hills spring up, on whose top is situated the rancho of the Sacramento; and on the opposite, also, another eminence rises up, further to the north than these, a short distance from the road. On the nearest points of these two elevations rest the extremities of the line of fortification, which, forming the shape of a martillo, cut off the road, and shut out all passage to the American forces. These, having marched out of Encenillas, had no way but that for their wagons and trains, between the two cordilleras. At the foot of the line of fortification which crossed the road, was a kind of echellon, very difficult of access, which made the position the more advantageous; and a gentle ascent there began, towards the north, up to the top of the hill, by which the enemy were expected.

They made their appearance, on that height, between two and three o'clock in the evening, on the 28th, marching directly on our positions, with all their forces, which exceeded 1300 men. Their advance was formed of cavalry, the centre of infantry and artillery, and the rear-guard of more than three hundred wagons, with their respective guards, among whom were the prisoners taken at El Paso. Our cavalry ranged in three columns, was then formed under the *echellon*, at the foot of which began the gentle ascent by which the Americans were coming down, a position in which they would have been destroyed by the enemy's artillery; and our infantry, also, drawn up in three columns, manned the redoubts of the line of fortification which crossed the road, all fortified.

At the distance of a cannon shot from the positions described, the enemy halted; and then General Heredia ordered the cavalry to come down, and take a station on the road, in the rear of the infantry. It was hoped that the Americans would immediately attack in front; but, instead of this, after some time of suspense, without making any movement, during which they deliberated and decided on their plan, they marched towards the right, at a very quick step, following the direction to the hacienda of the Torreon.

According to his own suggestion, or in consequence of indications from General García Conde, our General-in-chief gave the order for the cavalry to go out and stop this movement, which they performed, marching almost parallel to the enemy, until they met his vanguard. General Heredia then advanced from his positions with the infantry and artillery, to establish a line of battle on the right of the cavalry, in the enemy's front. The latter then, having made a halt, also formed their line, covering their cannon with their cavalry; and, when they were ready, they rapidly unlimbered them and opened their fire on our forces.

The first discharges from their batteries produced the natural effect. Our cavalry, chiefly composed of soldiers who had never heard the sound of a cannon, and so placed as to be unable to perform any manœuvre, exposed to a fire which produced considerable slaughter, could not long stand their ground, without showing by the undulations in their line, symptoms of that disorder, which their chiefs and officers strove unsuccessfully to prevent. Our artillery also opened their fire upon the enemy in vain. The cavalry soon lost all order, and many of them dispersed, involving the infantry in the confusion, in which force the same circumstances happened.

This had a decisive effect on the result of the action. The enthusiasm of our troops, exposed to so unfortunate a trial, suffered a terrible blow in that dismay and confusion, which revealed to them their weakness and misfortune. The ineffectual efforts of the chiefs and officers to restore the line of battle, demonstrated that the confidence of the soldiers was lost.

The firing being now, for a few moments, suspended on both sides, General Heredia gave orders to retire to the entrenchments, and this being done, the dead and wounded were taken from the field. One piece of artillery, which they had dismounted for us, and everything on the field, were abandoned.

The enemy then advanced upon the redoubts nearest the hill of the Sacramento., which were garrisoned anew by our infantry and artillery, with the cannon belonging to them. Our cavalry formed then the rear guard of the fortifications.

Before the Americans recommenced their attack, General Heredia directed that the Commandante of the Artillery, Don Matías Conde, should ascend the same hill of the Sacramento with two pieces, to rake with their fire those in the nearest redoubt below. This order, perhaps, was extensive enough for all the other pieces, or else was so interpreted through stupidity or malice. The result was, that not a single piece was left in its place, but all were suddenly removed from battery, and hastily put on the march for the hill. The General-in-chief, in the meantime had also set out for the same point, for the purpose, as he afterwards said, to stop the infantry, who were marching in the same direction in confusion, and to bring them back to the redoubts, as well as the guns which the artillery should have.

The disorder had now reached its height. The troops dispersed in all directions. The pieces, except the two taken up by the Commandante of Artillery, neither returned to the redoubts nor reached the hill. The order to retreat to these proceeded, according to some, from the Major-General, according to others, from General Heredia, and this chief was found on the hill, where it was not easy to avoid such confusion.

General Garcia Conde had remained with the cavalry behind the fortifications, resting his left upon the first redoubt nearest the hill. Governor Trias, with his adjutants, after having wearied himself in uniting those dispersed, directed that a part of the 7th Infantry, led by D. Pedro Horcacitas, a young officer of the National Guard, and the regular officers, Rosales and Quintana, with some dismounted soldiers of the squadron of Durango, and some others that were scattered, should protect the above-mentioned redoubt, at the moment when the enemy were attacking that point with a column. The vanguard, consisting of cavalry, was commanded by Colonel Oinz.

That handful of infantry resisted the Americans with vigor, making a cross fire with the pieces on the hill. The brave Captain Rosales and Sub-Lieutenant Quintana were killed, encouraging their troops. Oinz, charging with extraordinary audacity upon the redoubt, and almost at the foot of the parapets, fell, pierced with balls. His dragoons, seeing him fall, stopped, hesitated, and finally fled, involving in their flight some of the artillery, who were coming on as their rear guard, with two pieces. Our troops were animated. The pieces had remained isolated. Trias, with several officers and some of the cavalry, undertook to make a charge to gain them, going out from the left side of the redoubt. General García Conde likewsie undertook the same movement by the right, and ordered his second in command to charge, with another portion of the cavalry, by the left flank. * * The pieces were on the point of being taken by our soldiers. * * But not even the slightest advantage was tc be allowed us on that fatal day! A few American artillerymen took possession of one of the guns, discharged it with grape shot upon our cavalry, at a very short distance, and disorder and confusion returned, while, at the time that the enemy reformed and charged again with decision, to take the redoubt and to remain in possession of all the field. The pieces on the hill, where General Heredia was, were also abandoned, the whole position being lost, and our entire force being dispersed or made prisoners.

Our wounded, as well as our killed, with the exception of Captain Rosales, whose body was brought on the shoulders of a grenadier of his battalion to Chihuahua, remained on the field of battle, as well as the provisions, money, and almost the whole pork, only a few loads of which were brought off through the Sierra.

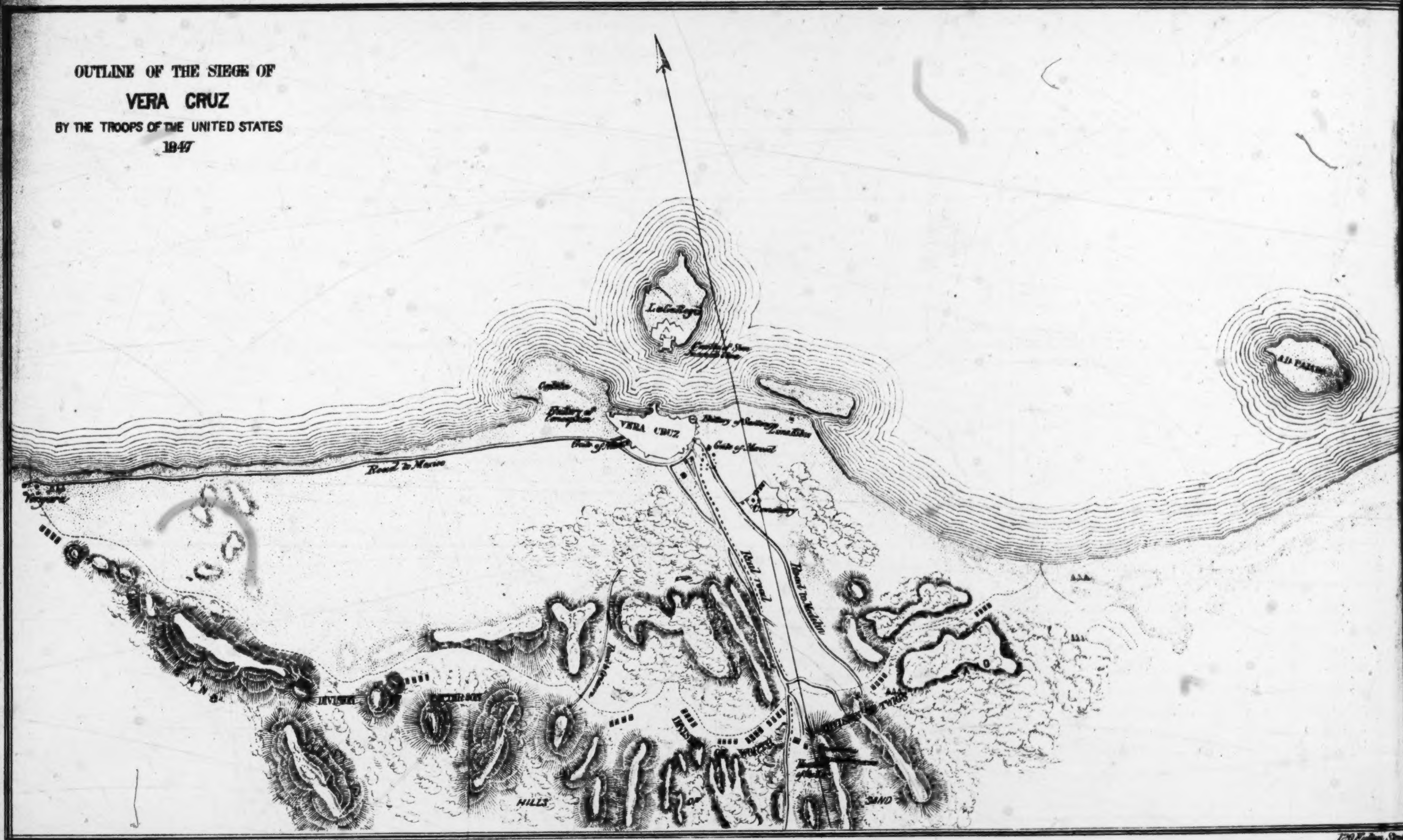
Trias also withdrew by the same road, all hope being now lost, in company with General García Conde, leaving behind him the unfortunate soldiers who had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Then faded away the last light of that day, whose rising sun had shone upon so many hopes!

That night was a frightful one for all the Chihuahuans. In the city, where, blinded by the expectation of victory, they were preparing with enthusiasm for a triumphal festival, the sound of cannon had been heard in the evening, with the liveliest anxiety; and, when news was received of the disaster, the utmost terror was spread among the people, and many families, without any preparation whatever, rushed into the streets, exposing themselves to be cut to pieces by the savages. In different points of the neighborhood, the chiefs and officers being scattered, who had taken part in the action, endeavored to avoid each other, seeking concealment in solitude. On the field, our wounded, stretched near the dead bodies of their companions, and suffering most severely from the cold, were left to groan and suffer in despair.

Such was the sad picture presented to the unhappy Chihuahuans by the night of February 28th, 1847, in the very places where, in the preceding evening, they had gaily drunk their toasts to independence and liberty.

On the following day the invading forces occupied the capital; and the government of the state removed to El Parral, a city nearest the frontier of Durango.

OUTLINE OF THE SIEGE OF
VERA CRUZ
BY THE TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES
1847



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CHAPTER X.

VERA CRUZ.

The United States, rich, and abundantly supplied with facilities for transportation, would now naturally take advantage of these circumstances. Unlike the Mexican Republic, which was embarrassed with obstacles, they could move their armies with ease, from one end of their territory to the other. General Taylor had advanced, without difficulty, far into the interior of the Republic; but he had left on his flank an immense region, not sufficiently secure, and had yet to conquer several populous cities, before arriving at the capital. The Mexican army marched to meet them, thirsting for vengeance, and all the forces of the Republic seemed to be collected against him. In these circumstances an expedition in an opposite direction to that occupied by General Taylor would divide the attention of our government and officers, and, at the same time, give to the United States the possibility of taking perhaps several of our provinces, or at least of weakening our means of attack and defence, according as the balance might incline in their favor. Thus the taking of Vera Cruz was the important object which the government of the United States naturally proposed, to put an end to the war. On the other hand, the occupation of that place would bring the American army near to the capital, by a single blow, and open a more plain and easy way to them.

But this calculation, so simple and clear, and which the press of the United States indicated beforehand, and the change of their base of operations, did not receive the attention of those men who had been charged with the salvation of the country. Far from strengthening our defence on that side, a few troops, acclimated at the cost of immense sufferings and losses, received from General Santa Anna, when he returned from exile, the orders to march to Mexico. The same course also was pursued with officers, whose skill was most necessary to fortify and defend that place, in case of an attack. An abandonment the most complete, crowned this work of carelessness or neglect which the painful recollections of the events of 1838, renders the more unpardonable.

In the meantime the eventful hour arrived. On the 8th of February, 1847, several ships of war were discovered, and a few days afterwards, it was known that they had scaling ladders on board, and other things of a like nature. The danger was imminent. The city was undoubtedly to be attacked, and contained neither munitions of war sufficient for defence, neither lint nor bandage, to staunch the blood of the brave men who might fall wounded, in defending the honor of the unfortunate Mexican Republic. In those moments of dismay the Ayuntamiento offered all the supplies for the defence, and the inhabitants contributed by a theatrical exhibition of amateur performers to form a surgical hospital. The skilful commandante of engineers, D. Manuel Robles, displayed untiring activity in fortifying the place, and the garrison and all the people engaged in it with enthusiasm, preparing for a resistance worthy of the defenders and of the fortune with which the enemy advanced. And in those days of sorrow, Vera Cruz received the painful intelligence that civil war had broken out in the capital of the Republic, and that the government would not aid her with a single man or a single dollar. What madness had seized the Mexicans, to provoke a civil war while a foreign enemy was lording over our cities and proudly occupying the national territory? But Vera Cruz, without troops, without munitions, without pecuniary resources, abandoned by the whole Republic, resolved to fall fighting, sooner than give a sad example of cowardice, and stain with an eternal censure her title of heroism.

This terrible and distressing news was received in the city on the

4th of March; and as if to wash away the ignominy in which citizens and soldiers had disgraced themselves in the capital of the Republic, they carried a white flag in procession that night, as a symbol of union, with music and enthusiasm. Vera Cruz resigned herself to her fate. The gates of the city were shut, except that of the Merced, by which families emigrated. On the 6th, a steamboat full of officers made a reconnoissance. Families went out even on foot, for the want of carriages. The city gradually assumed the serene and solemn aspect of a place of arms, and that dull and indescribable agitation began to be felt, which precedes a battle. The fortification of the place continued with activity.

At length the 9th of March arrived. The enemy commenced their debarcation on the beach of Collado, which it was impossible to prevent, for the want of a corps of the army to manœuvre out of the city. The Ayuntamiento declared itself in permanent session. A guerrilla of national guards, under the command of Colonel Cenovio, burned the first cartridge against the enemy, thus provoking a combat, in which numbers, resources of all kinds, and fortune, on the one side, were to contend with a handful of brave men on the other, with nothing to depend upon except the justice of their cause. The enemy began to surround the city, and to plant their batteries; and it was necessary to leave them to select their grounds, for the want of troops to hold the positions it had been proposed to occupy in order to prevent them. The guerrillas opened their fire, and some of the enemy bit the dust of that land which they presumed to pollute with their arrogant feet. Lieutenant Plata, of the National Guards, fell in one of those skirmishes, a victim to his boldness. In the meantime, supplies became scarce, and the Ayuntamiento made arrangements to reduce the rations of the National Guard. A noble spectacle was presented by the examples of fraternal kindness shown between the veteran soldiers and the national guard; for there was but one thought—to fight like brothers to defend the liberty of the country.

Enthusiasm increased at the sight of danger; and when General Morales, who had the chief command, formed a column of observation, the soldiers disputed with each other for a place in the ranks, as for a laurel of victory. Fascines and labor of all kinds were accepted with pleasure and performed with care; and in everything an emulation was displayed, worthy of that happy result which cruel fortune in the end denied to unhappy Vera Cruz. On the 13th, Vergara was occupied by the Americans, and the investment of the city was completed by sea and land. Some troops from the neighboring country had already entered; and, from that moment, the defenders were conscious that they must depend upon their own resources. The enemy arranged their batteries; the town and the castle of Ulúa opened their fire at all points where they discovered the enemy at work, and with precision, under the direction of the officers Chavero and Espejo.

The scarcity of provisions began to be severely felt in the city, the guerrillas harassed the enemy, and the artillery maintained their fire upon them. The Americans, however, were silent, advancing their works, to prepare to assail safely. The condition of things began to be painful. Being destitute of sufficient troops, the defence could not be properly conducted; and at length the American army completed their batteries, which consisted of 32-pounders and mortars of 68, placed as in the plan. The garrison of Vera Cruz consisted of the following troops:—

Regiment No. 2, Colonel Bartolo Arzamendi, . . .	400	men.
Artillery, Colonel Antonio Ortiz Izquierdo, . . .	150	„
Enlisted Marines, ...	80	„
Artillery of the National Guard, Lieut. Antonio Sosa, .	80	„
Sappers, Commandante José María Parra, . . .	100	„
Regiment No. 8, Col. José Felix Lopez, . . .	140	„
A picket of No. 11, Captain Miguel Camargo, . . .	41	„
3d Light, Capt. Juan J. Sanchez, ...	150	„

The Libres de Puebla, National Guard, Col. D. Pedro, M. Herrera,	350 men.
National Guard of Orizava, Colonel José Gutierrez Villanueva,	500 „
Do. of Vera Cruz, Colonel José Luelmo,	800 „
Do. of Coatepec, Vera Cruz, &c.,	109 „
Active battalion of Oajaca, Col. Juan Aguayo,	400 „
Do. do. of Tehuantepec, Commandante Manuel Prieto,	60 „
Total,	3,360 men.

The garrison of Ulúa was as follows:—

Artillery, Colonel Mariano Aguado.	450 men.
Active battalion of Puebla, Commandante Fernando Urriza,	180 „
Do. do. of Jamiltepec, Colonel N. García,	150 „
Companies of the Active battalions of Tuxpan, Tampico, and Alvarado, Captains Miguel Argumedo, and Eligio Perez,	250 „
Total,	1,030 men.

It had been declared, a long time previously, by the national corps of engineers, that Vera Cruz could not hold out, in case of an attack, without a force of five thousand men to manœuvre outside of the place, under protection of its fire. The knowledge of this makes the resolution of the defenders of Vera Cruz, to sacrifice themselves under their walls, appear greater and more noble.

On the 22d of March, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the American General summoned them to surrender the place within two hours.

The reply was in the negative, and as decided as it was worthy of Vera Cruz. At four a bomb-shell burst in the Plaza de Armas, and another in the Correo. The contest had now begun. God save the Republic!

From that moment the fire continued without intermission. Mortars, howitzers, cannons, the broadsides of the small vessels which had been brought up near to Collado, all played upon the town. The gunners aimed especially at San Augustin, at the powder magazine, and at the whole city and the quarters. This horrible fire was suspended at dawn on the 23d, but when full daylight shone it was resumed with greater vigor. The batteries Santiago, San José, San Fernando, and Santa Barbara returned the fire. Ulúa also battered the enemy, who kept continually from four to six shells in the air. Their vessels, which had been brought up to Collado by the steamboat Mississippi, opened upon the city, but were driven back by D. Blas Godinez, from Santiago.

From that time the horrors of a bombarded city commenced. The surgical hospital, which was situated in the Convent of Santo Domingo, suffered from the fire, and several of the inmates were killed by fragments of bombs bursting at that point. While an operation was performing on a wounded man, the explosion of a shell extinguished the lights, and when others were brought, the patient was found torn in pieces, and many others dead and wounded. Scenes of misery and of blood succeeded each other, which we durst not attempt to describe, even without exaggeration or coloring, for fear of introducing a repetition of horrors. The hospital was transferred to San Francisco, which until that time had been somewhat respected by the projectiles of the enemy. But the hospital had been hardly established there, before the bombs were aimed in that direction. In the Convent of Santo Domingo itself the shells caused a fire, which was extinguished by the exertions of the engineers, the Ayuntamiento, the police, and troops; but flames soon burst out in another place, and then in another, and shells were thrown in greater numbers at those places, to prevent their extinguishment, for Vera Cruz was attacked by a barbarous enemy. On this account the bakeries suffered much from the shot, as the smoke of the chimneys served as marks to the enemy, who desired to annihilate, to conquer without danger.

On the 24th the battery opened its fire, which was established on an eminence, about 600 or 700 yards distant, south of the wall of the Santa Barbara. That eminence forms a ridge parallel to the wall of the city, and 15 yards above its level. The battery was composed of four mortars of 68 and four of 36, taken from the steamer Mississippi. Six pieces were turned against the battery of Santa Gertrudis. The fire began to dismantle Santa Barbara, and opened a breach in the wall connected with the right demi-gorge of the bastion. The grenades and shot in rebounding perforated the edifices, ruining the block of houses, but the engineers took care to cover the breaches with wooden bars and bags of sand; and the artillery retired to the rear of the battery, which was threatened with destruction.

That point was under the command of a First Lieutenant of Marines, D. Sebastian Holzinger, who often made exertions to extinguish the enemy's fire. A shower of grenades and balls then fell, which spread death and despair. In the midst of the storm the projectiles of the enemy had several times cut away our national flag. Holzinger nailed it to the staff, assisted by a youth of sixteen, a second lieutenant of the Orizava Guard, both being exposed to almost certain death. At this moment, when they were giving so noble an example of bravery and enthusiasm, a ball struck away the parapet, and Holzinger and the young guard were nearly smothered in a cloud of dust, smoke, and balls.

The fire from Santa Barbara had shattered a curtain of the enemy's battery, and some of their men paid a bloody tribute to the justice of our cause. On our part, also, the losses increased: the first adjutant, D. Félix Valdes, major of the orders of the first line, in taking an order, was killed by the fall of a shell, and several soldiers of Vera Cruz suffered the same fate. Both the enemy and the city now threw Congreve rockets.

At eleven in the morning of this day, three of the enemy's columns moved with their colors in the direction of El Matadero, the slaughter-house. The firing was suspended, the city was alarmed: the hour of assault had arrived. New warriors appeared, seeking death or victory. Enthusiasm increased; the line was covered by defenders; the trembling old man desired to have his part in the glory of the brave; the youth grew ardent, and with joy and delight prepared to die. Happy moments of brave enthusiasm! * * * But fate was cruel to us, and death was taught to the defenders of Vera Cruz, without giving them a remedy or vengeance. The enemy's columns hid themselves in the sand-hills, and their firing opened again. In the night the Americans labored at new batteries, from the Cemetery towards the Lime Kilns.

D. José María Mata, at this time arrived by sea, by the way of Antigua, with bills of exchange, sent by the Governor of the State, and from the beach sought some mode of assisting us.

During the night the firing continued, without intermission, and the number of disasters instantly increased. A shell fell in the powder-works in the redoubt of Santiago, where several artillerymen were at work. The building blew up by three quintals of powder taking fire, and more than twenty loaded shells exploded, blowing to pieces all the workmen, except a sergeant. Nineteen persons were killed in the infirmary by the bursting of another shell; and in the female hospital seventeen lost their lives by the same cause.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 25th, two steamers and seven gun-boats lay to, behind the high ground of the Lime Kilns, and from that position, threw grenades and balls of 68 and 36; but the town and Ulúa dislodged them at nine, by a well directed fire, which severely injured one of the steamers. An immense number of shot, crossing in all directions, made that a dreadful day, and every moment a shell exploded, spreading death on all sides. The enemy's fire swept the little square of La Caleta, La Pastora, and the fort of San Juan. A violent norther increased the havoc and the terrible and bloody solemnity of that scene. The danger and the losses on our part were greatly increased. A ball passed through a wall a yard and a half in thickness, in the church of San Augustin, and was stopped by the blinds of the general park stationed at that point. The redoubt of Santa Barbara, a curtain of the quarters of the 2d and the casemate of the cavalry, were threatened with destruction. In the mole, in Ulúa, in the outer works, in Santa Barbara, and in the line to Santa Gertrudis, many men were killed, both artillerymen and soldiers of the actives of Oajaca.

The disasters among the inhabitants were numerous, and no place remained safe. At one in the morning several women wandered about, asking an asylum for different children left orphans, their parents having been killed by bomb-shells. In the chapel of the Divina Pastora, only one ball had penetrated, and the commandante of the port there lodged the unfortunate orphans. The children were crying and asking for bread. * * * Even at that hour the soldiers had not taken their rations, which had not been prepared, on account of the firing, and consisted of nothing but rice, beans, and sometimes cod-fish. The children cried, and asked, still crying, for bread, which could not be given to them. A veteran of the 8th regiment then approached them, took a biscuit from his cap, and said: "I had a present to-day and I kept it to eat with my ration, but I would rather have the children eat it." The commandante of the post offered the soldier a piece of money, but he refused it. "My chief," said he, "I have children in my country, and it pleases me if some one gives them bread if they cry." We regret that we cannot enrich our narrative with the name of this old soldier.

The norther continued to blow, and by the light of the moon several vessels were seen wrecked on the beach of Vergara, and many lanterns moving in that direction.

The park was becoming scarce in the place, and cartridges were manufactured with canvas brought from the depôts of the infantry corps, the restitution of which was secured by the Ayuntamiento.

The firing was prolonged through the whole night, and the same on the 26th. Vera Cruz then presented a sad sight. Fathers of families, who had lost their houses, their fortunes, and their children, unhappy infants, who now had no parents, wounded men, without food, without surgical aid, because the hospital was the object of the enemy's fire, and others, wandered about the streets, haggard and bloody, in search of the succor which they needed. The people were poor and hungry, because they ate with the garrison of the supplies collected by the Ayuntamiento, and these were very scarce. Such was the spectacle presented by Vera Cruz. And the want of park which had to be obtained from Ulúa, and the impossibility of replacing many broken gun-carriages and dismounted cannon, completed that picture of destruction.

The foreign consuls solicited permission to leave, to seek guarantees of the enemy for their countrymen. In the evening the city sounded to cease firing. A committee of foreigners went out under the French flag, to demand protection of the ships of war of their nations, and returned after encountering the dangers of the norther, and the risk of being fired upon, which Commodore Perry wished to do. Musketry also was heard by the Médanos, and a report was spread that reinforcements were coming. Women ran about inquiring whether the consuls had gone out. All these things tended to produce disorder; the enlisted men who served the artillery, in the fort of Concepcion, wished to go in search of their families, and the soldiers made the same proposals.

Night came, the fire remained suspended, and to the sensations of this sublime terror of danger and to even enthusiasm, succeeded that anxiety and reflection in all their minds, which are felt in moments when a danger is passed, and when a new one is expected, without the power of measuring its extent. The state of things became more serious every moment. The commandante asked the opinion of some of the chiefs of corps, respecting a sally to abandon the city, and to open a passage through the enemy's line. He therefore sent to ascertain the feelings of the troops on that question. The National Guards replied, that their families had remained in the city to share the dangers with them, but protested that they were ready to make a sally, whenever it should be ordered. In the regular troops some symptoms of disorder were perceived, and some murmurs were heard at the want of a punctual supply of provisions. The Orizaba Guard, the Grenadiers of Oajaca, and other chiefs and officers of the National Guard of Vera Cruz, fearing a capitulation, decided on marching and encountering the risk of attacking the enemy's line. But the commandante interfered to prevent it, proclaiming the union of all the defenders of Vera Cruz, to await the event.

At midnight a junta of war assembled, at which General Morales gave in his resignation of the command, and General Landero took his place. This act seemed to presage some misfortune. * *

The new chief of the city assumed the command in very difficult circumstances. The condition of Vera Cruz became every moment more critical; provisions, munitions, and supplies of all kinds, were growing more and more scarce, and next the term of defence approached, as strongly made, as little favored by fortune.

The horrible scenes of desolation which had succeeded each other within a few days, and which appeared under a thousand different aspects, caused a heartfelt terror among the helpless part of the population, who sought in every direction some place of refuge. The condition of the place was frightful. From the gate of La Merced to the Parish, not a single house was uninjured. The greater part of them was destroyed, and the streets were impassable from the rubbish. From the Parish to the Caleta, although not on the same level, all the houses were damaged. There was no light, and there was no passing by the sidewalks, for fear that the balconies would fall. The store-rooms of some commercial houses were occupied by families, whose habitations had been ruined; and that of the Consul of Spain, D. Telesfora Gonzalez de Escalante, was filled with aged men, women, and children, to whom he gave an asylum, and even generously supplied with food. We will take the liberty of offering him, in these pages, a testimony of gratitude for his noble conduct.

Before the dawn of day on the 27th, the Consuls of England, France, Spain, Prussia, and the Hanseatic cities, with the second alcalde of the Ayuntamiento, went out to the enemy's camp, to ask permission for the neutrals to leave the city, and also for the old men, women, and children, a great number of whom awaited the result of this measure, in the house of the Spanish consul. The committee returned, explaining, that General Scott, without giving them audience, had informed them through an aid, that he should not allow the departure of any person while the city refused to surrender, since he had given notice to the neutrals of the risk they would run during the bombardment (which was false*), and that he should fire upon any who might attempt to go out. A barbarous method to oppose to the heroic resolution of the defenders of Vera Cruz, dying under their arms, rather than yielding to the enemy!

This news, to which was added a notice, that, unless the city should surrender at discretion by six o'clock the next morning, the firing would be opened again from the batteries already existing and several new ones, spread a general terror, and excited it to the highest degree. Groups of ladies of all classes were to be seen, carrying little bundles of clothes, running about the streets, terrified and out of breath, with distress depicted in their countenances, and everywhere that kind of dread prevailed which arises from the memory of a past danger, when a future is expected. The mother, with her tender children in her arms, hastened along in search of a secure asylum, which sad reality denied her; the young daughter, guiding the steps of the aged man, raised her eyes to heaven, streaming with tears, imploring a retreat to save the life of the author of her being; the little boy, terrified by the dismay of his mother, hardly able to keep up, followed her. Danger, in all its horrors, certain death, in its drapery of blood, was the melancholy prospect of the defenceless population. In the midst of this fearful agony the fatal hour approached, and the trembling multitude had but one question to ask, one thought in their minds, for the city clock had been destroyed by the bomb-shells, and all desired to know if it were yet six o'clock. Some of the neutrals participated in the general apprehensions, and others, in a state of desperation, presented themselves at the fortified points, to die fighting. That horrible feeling of uneasiness which precedes the last moments had seized upon all.

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* These gentlemen have entirely overlooked General Scott's correspondence with the foreign consuls, attached to his despatches from Vera Cruz. In this he gave them warning to leave the city, as he was about to commence the bombardment. They refused, or at least neglected, to avail themselves of this notice. He therefore would not afterwards stop his firing for their accommodation.—AM. ED.

At that instant of agony, a report was circulated that the foreign consuls had decided to go out, at the head of their countrymen and under their national flags; that the second Alcalde would lead the old men, women, and children, all resolved to endure the fire with which they were threatened. The women caught at the idea in despair, as it offered them the prospect of terminating the slow and prolonged martyrdom which they were suffering; all abandoned their houses, hardly taking the most common necessaries, and carrying their children in their arms, proceeded towards the lines in search of their husbands. There, with convulsive sobs, the aged mother kissed the forehead of her son for the last time; the tender maiden received the blessing of her father, as if on the edge of the grave; and the wife and the sister, embracing the soldier, bade farewell for eternity. And these soldiers, who had not trembled at the frightful devastation of the enemy's projectiles,—these brave men, who had seen unmoved the fall of their companions, mutilated and lifeless,—who had eaten their slender rations by the light of the flames which devastated their property, tranquil and unmoved, devoted wholly to their country,—felt also the tear rolling down the cheek, but did not vacillate, and in the extremity of their grief pressing their dear wives to their bosoms, on receiving a delirious blessing from an aged mother, would only exclaim, "Vengeance, O God!" * * * * Vengeance is the only word heard in the lines. * * *

In order to prevent scenes like these, which torture the feelings, it was necessary to station sentinels at certain points. The people wandered about, inquiring through what gate they were to go out. The houses of the consuls were beset, and the Commandante General was followed by a multitude of ladies and foreigners, begging him to put an end to the universal calamity. They represented, in order to persuade him, that the enemy might take the place without the loss of a man, as their projectiles could destroy the city, and that they had erected a new battery of 60 guns, which took away the last hope.

It seems as if a cruel fatality presided, in that campaign, over the destinies of Mexico, and that the noblest exertions and sacrifices of some of her children were to be crowned with misfortune. Thus it happened in Vera Cruz, when forced to submit to the enemy. The 25th of March had been a terrible day for the city, that can never be forgotten, and in which the army of the United States had made a display, if the expression may be permitted to us, of all their power; and, in the town, had been felt all the rigor of the position, with the greatest scarcity of sustenance and supplies. Hence it is that from that day date the negotiations opened with the enemy. We think it proper in this place to explain them, by copying the words of the commandante of engineers, D. Manuel Robles, whose bravery and skill give much importance to his opinion, and who was one of the Mexican commissioners, with Colonels D. Pedro de Herrera and D. José Gutierrez de Villanueva.

"On the night of the 25th," says Señor Robles, "at a junta of generals, it was agreed to capitulate, when I had no knowledge of the meeting or of their agreement until the next morning, and after a communication had been sent to the General-in-chief of the enemy, proposing the assembling of commissioners, to fix upon the terms of capitulation. I immediately made a protest in writing, because it had not been heard by the commandante of engineers, as expressly required by the Ordinanza, and I expressed my opinion against the capitulation. This was not because I believed the reasons presented to the junta to be insufficient, nor because I thought it would be easy for the garrison to break through the enemy's line, as had been proposed, nor for any want of foundation or justice in the fears expressed, that the inhabitants who had so bravely contributed to the defence, would be delivered into the hands of the enemy at discretion. But, the attack of Vera Cruz being the first operation of the campaign in this direction, I thought proper that the resistance should be carried beyond what the laws of war prescribe in ordinary circumstances, in order to excite by example the enthusiasm of the nation.

"At a new junta, which was held when it was ascertained that the general of the enemy agreed to the proposed meeting of the commissioners, the garrison appointed me one of their number, an honor which I could not refuse; and negotiations were commenced. * * * * On the 26th, the commissioners clearly perceived that the enemy were resolved to grant no conditions, except those which the usages of war compelled them to concede, and broke off the negotiations; but, being obliged to open them again on the 27th, they could not then, conformably with their instructions, fail to accept what was offered. They, however, obtained as much as is customarily allowed in similar circumstances, and, moreover, 48 chiefs should remain excepted from the capitulation, to be chosen by the garrison, many of whom afterwards performed very good services. The commissioners could never imagine, that the condition which, instead of leaving the officers and troops prisoners in the enemy's hands, would set them at liberty, by giving their word *not to take up arms until duly exchanged*, was to be imposed as a disgraceful oath not to serve their country. In the histories of the European wars of this century many examples were seen of the capitulations of places with the same condition, which was always considered as a concession, and, moreover, this act of favor was granted only to the officers, leaving the troops prisoners; and it was desired to exact the same in Vera Cruz, it being at no small labor to the commission to obtain the liberty of the soldiers."

The result of these negotiations was the capitulation which was agreed to on the 27th. General Landero, in a junta of war held on the morning of that day, in consequence of there being ammunition for only a three hours' fire, and no provisions except those given out by the Ayuntamiento, in which the population participated, and for other reasons, found it necessary to terminate this contest, so disadvantageous for us. This step, while, on the one hand, it tranquillized public anxiety, excited, on the other, the military disgust. The National Guard of Vera Cruz, which, under the command of D. Manuel G. Zamora, formed a part of the reserve, declared that they would not capitulate; the same resolution was heard from the lines, and symptoms of revolt began to appear. However, the sad truth of the ground of the capitulation prevailed over the opposition, and the excitement subsided. General Morales, the idol of Vera Cruz, who had united his glory with the glory of this place, was about to take his departure in a launch, with the National Guard, so as not to capitulate.

It was all over with Vera Cruz. Those brave veterans and Nationals, who had suffered so much, sacrificed so much, and been decimated by the enemy's projectiles, without enjoying an opportunity to revenge the blood of their brethren, were now to lay down their arms to an enemy, who had gained the victory by their superiority in their elements of war and the madness of the capital. And that unfortunate population, who had suffered a bombardment, which, relatively speaking, was unequalled in history—that helpless population, who had seen hundreds of innocent and defenceless victims perish amidst the crash of ruins, and their fortunes and the prospects of their children destroyed by the flames, must now drain their cup of calamity, by seeing a successful, bloody, and unpitying enemy proudly tread the streets of their heroic city, whose loss was estimated at five or six millions.

All was over with Vera Cruz. In vain had four or five hundred of her inhabitants perished; in vain had six hundred soldiers shed their blood, and four hundred of them been killed. The graves of those brave men were to be dishonored by the conqueror! * * * In vain had the city suffered the ravages of 6700 projectiles, of the weight of 463,000 pounds, thrown into it by the enemy; in vain had the place expended 8,486 in her defence. The city had fallen into the power of the invader, and cruel fortune had given this mournful and painful blow to the unfortunate Mexican Republic.

It was stipulated in the capitulation that the garrison should remain prisoners, evacuating the place with all the honors of war, and delivering up their arms; that the Mexican officers should retain their arms and private property; that the Mexican forces should give their word of honor not to serve again until exchanged; that the Mexican general should dispose of his veteran forces as he pleased, and the Nationals return to their homes; that the materiel of war and the public property in the castle, the city, and its dependencies should belong to the United States; and that perfect protection should be secured to the inhabitants of the city and their property, with absolute liberty in religious worship and ceremonies.

The capitulation was concluded on the 27th and ratified on the 28th, and in the morning the different points were cleared, in preparation for the melancholy act which was to be performed on the following day. Vera Cruz was a scene of desolation. To her martial enthusiasm, to that noble self-denial, with which the very women and old men had submitted to all kinds of sufferings, to save their country, had succeeded a feeling of horror towards the enemy. There is a certain enthusiasm in the people of Vera Cruz, a certain energy of passions, which characterize them, and which were exhibited by them on that day. A part of the National Guard was dissolved, and thought only of flying from the abominated presence of the conqueror. The inhabitants congratulated themselves on their escape from the great dangers they had passed through; the city, sad and silent, wore a funereal aspect.

Day dawned on the 29th. At eight in the morning the artillery saluted the national flag, which was displayed at Ulúa and on the land batteries, with the last honors which the unfortunate but gallant garrison would be able to pay to their standard. At ten, the troops, which had been drawn up ever since nine, in the streets leading to La Merced, marched out for the plain of the Cocos, in the centre of which were a white and an American flag. The troops, formed in column, with their head resting there, remained in square, and counted 8,000 men with four batteries. Lieutenant-Colonel D. Manuel Robles and his adjutant, D. Joaquin Castillo, who had behaved with the greatest bravery in the last days of danger, acted as interpreters. General Worth presented himself, making a thousand compliments to our chiefs, and surrounded by his aids in full uniform. The fatal hour arrived. The soldiers, in tears, divested themselves of their accoutrements; and, while stacking their arms, some broke them in pieces, to avoid surrendering them to the enemy. An American battalion, flanking our troops, placed sentinels at intervals of five paces, to guard the arms which had been deposited.

The sacrifice was consummated; but the soldiers of Vera Cruz received the honor due to their valor and misfortunes—the respect of the conqueror. Not even a look was given them by the enemy's soldiers which could be interpreted into an insult, while they showed the greatest caution. The column received the order to march by Medellin, and not by Vergara, to avoid the insults of the volunteers, whose very chiefs could not restrain them. Before marching, the troops being now disarmed and the officers retaining their swords, Colonel D. Francisco Lopez presented himself as chief of the column. At that moment the American standard floated over Ulúa and the forts, saluted by the ships and our own cannon, exciting anew the resentment, despair, and bitterness of feeling among the soldiers and even the women.

The march having now been commenced by the road to Medellin, the batteries of the square where the arms had been surrendered fired their salute, and, in the words of an eye-witness, "the shores, as well as the trees and the tops of the houses, became blue with people clothed in that color, who appeared upon them, shouting 'HURRAH!'"

CHAPTER XI.

CERRO-GORDO AND ORIZAVA.

The occupation of Vera Cruz by the American army, was the first signal of alarm for the capital of the Republic. Until then, the threats of the United States, to make their flag float over the palace of the Moctezumas, was regarded as a piece of madness. But, on seeing the invaders now masters of so important a place, whose resistance had raised so many illusions, and on examining the weakness of the capital, enfeebled by the most disgraceful of revolutions, the presentiment of misfortune began to inspire terror and dismay, always precursors of the greatest national calamities.

General Santa Anna, who had just entered upon the presidency of the Republic, in consequence of the events of the revolution of February, immediately took measures on the restoration of public tranquillity in Mexico, to send out a small brigade, under the command of General Rangel, on the road to Vera Cruz. He also gave orders to General Canalizo to join General Vega, who was preparing with some troops, to oppose the invaders on their march towards the National Bridge, and directed the division of the army of the Angostura, to proceed to the Vera Cruz road, in order to unite with those forces at a point that might be found convenient to resist the enemy. He afterwards proposed to the congress to concede to him the corresponding liberty to leave the capital, and to place himself at the head of the army. Having obtained their permission, and General Anaya elected President ad interim, General Santa Anna resigned his power on Good Friday, and on the evening of the same day, set off with his staff and escort, for the hacienda of Encero, where he arrived on the 5th of April, and established there provisionally his head-quarters.

Gral. VASQUEZ.

Ackermans lith. 120 Fulton St. N.Y.

On reaching Perote, he was met by the intelligence that General Canalizo had retired from the National Bridge, after abandoning four pieces of large calibre which were there. Santa Anna, irritated at this step, disapproved of the proceeding, and ordered him to return to the bridge to save the artillery, which being dismounted, was drawn off by oxen.

Many of the dispersed soldiers who had taken the oath at Vera Cruz, were compelled by Santa Anna to re-enter the service, and assigned to different corps, while the officers were sent to San Andrés Chalchicomula.

(II.)

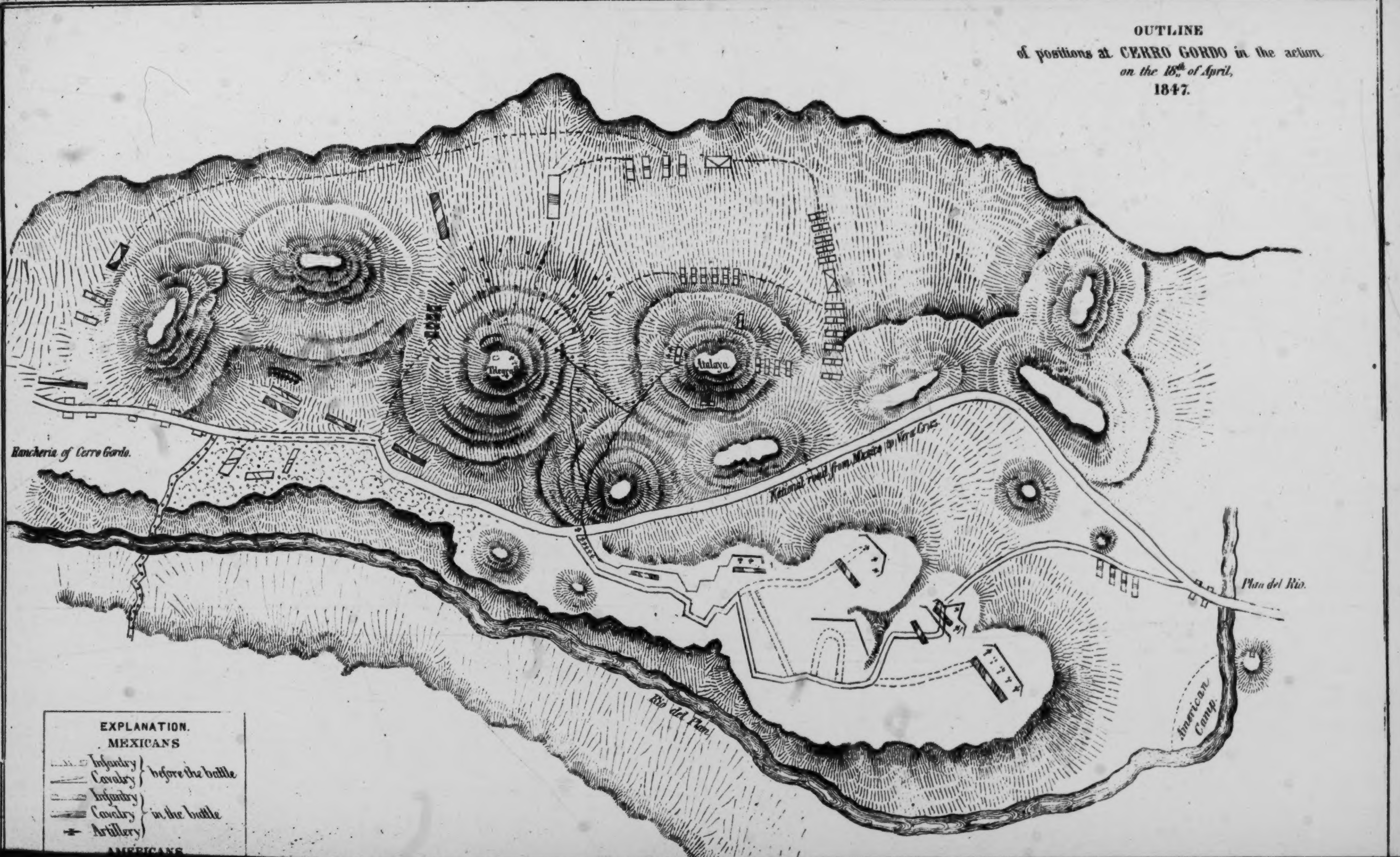
To one leaving Jalapa by the road to Vera Cruz, the country preserves its beauty, until near Encero, where hills begin to appear, destitute of that exuberant vegetation which characterizes the districts left behind, and beyond, after arriving at Corral Falso, thick briers rise on both sides of the way, which cover an extensive range of hills to Cerro-Gordo. At that point, seven leagues from Jalapa, the border of one of the table lands of the Cordillera forms properly an echellon, at the foot of which is found El Plan del Rio, where now the temperature of the *tierra caliente* is very sensibly felt. Upon the table, and commanding all the neighboring heights, rises the hill now called the Telégrafo, on the left of the road; and, on the right, in a profound cañada, flows El Rio del Plan, between which and the road, that a ravine makes in this place, various spurs of hills jut out, almost parallel, to subside in the descent of the elevation, and whose sides are inaccessible. At the foot of the Telégrafo is another eminence, called the Atalaya, connected with more woody heights rising from below, and forming in front of the position described, an obstacle to the vision that impedes its extending from thence beyond a short distance.

D. Manuel Robles, Lieutenant-colonel of engineers, on retiring from Vera Cruz, where his name had become so distinguished, was charged by General Canalizo to make a reconnoissance of several positions in Cerro-Gordo. He soon reported that he found them advantageous for harassing the invading enemy, on their march for Jalapa, but not the best point to dispute their passage, and much less to attempt a decisive victory. This opinion he founded principally on the facts, that the road might be cut by the enemy, to the rear of the position: and that the best result that could be counted on, if attacked in front, was to repulse them without being able to prevent them, in retiring, from forming again in the heights of Palo Gacho. He added also, that the want of water on Cerro-Gordo would make the situation of our troops too disadvantageous; and, that in his opinion, battle should be offered at Corral Falso, a position free from those objections. In spite of these remarks, the justice of which has been sadly proved by results, General Canalizo, by express orders from Santa Anna, directed Lieutenant-colonel Robles to commence fortifying Cerro-Gordo.

In the meantime the enemy approached, and there was hardly time for the construction of very slight works. Such were those which Robles had begun at the foot of the Telégrafo up to the 9th of April, when General Santa Anna arrived there with his staff, to make a reconnoissance to the Plan del Rio. Then fixing all his attention on the hills on the right of the road, he directed Robles to devote himself exclusively to fortifying them, intrusting to Lieutenant-colonel of engineers, D. Juan Cano, the works on the road and on the left. The General spent the night at the Plan del Rio, and on the 10th proceeded to Encero, returning on the 11th, and permanently establishing his head-quarters at Cerro-Gordo.

The brigades of Generals Pinzon and Rangel, the companies of Nationals of Jalapa and Coatepec, commanded by the meritorious Captain Mata, and the well-merited division of Angostura, even yet dusty from the last battle, arrived in succession until the 12th, when all those forces were in the camp. During those days, when the enemy already appeared at the Plan del Rio, the works were

OUTLINE
of positions at CERRO GORDO in the action
on the 18th of April,
1847.



Ackerman lith.

120 Fulton St. N.Y.

hastened with the utmost activity. Lieutenant-colonel Robles had raised a parapet on the brow of the three ranges of hills to the right, which, for want of the materials necessary for their construction, it was proposed should serve only to mark the lines in which the pieces of artillery were to be placed, and the infantry formed, and where our fire would be effective to rake the ground which should be passed over by the enemy in assaulting our positions. Colonel Cano had cut the road at the point where it changed its direction at the right side of the Telégrafo, and erected there a battery of heavy cannon, and made a covered way leading to the positions on the right. General Alcorta had constructed a circular barricade of trees on the top of that hill before-mentioned, and placed in it a battery of 4-pounders. In the centre of this work was raised the national standard. Further to the left, nothing was to be seen but barrancas and the thickest briers, which General Santa Anna held for certain to be impassable.

Such was our line, which extended more than a quarter of a league, and on which the General-in-chief distributed our forces, placing General Pinzon in the last position on the right, with the battalion of Atlixco and the 5th infantry, composed of more than 500 men with 7 pieces of artillery. In the centre of the right he placed D. Buenaventura Araujo, a navy captain, with the battalion Libertad, composed of 400 men, and the battalion of Zacapoastla, with 300 men and 8 pieces; and in the first of these positions, Colonel Badillo, with 250 men, of the companies of Nationals of Jalapa, Coatepec, and Teusitlan, with 9 pieces of different calibre. The camp of Matamoros, situated between the two last positions of the right and the first of the same, was garrisoned with the battalion of Matamoros and Tepeaca, with 450 men and an 8-pounder; and General Jarero was appointed chief of the line comprehended between that point and the hill of General Pinzon. In the battery on the road, consisting of 7 large guns, was the 6th infantry, with 900 men, under the command of General D. Rómulo Diaz de la Vega, under whose orders was also the battalion of grenadiers, with 460 men, destined as the reserve of the forces of the first position of the right. Finally, on the Telégrafo was placed Colonel Aspeitia, with the 3d infantry, consisting of 100 men, and General Vazquez was appointed chief of that point, General Uraga, second, and Colonel Palacios, Commandante of Artillery.

The rest of the army, with the exception of the cavalry, which remained at Corral Falso until the 15th, encamped on both sides of the road, in the rancheria of Cerro-Gordo, situated in the rear of the left of our line. The encampment had all the animation of a busy city. Large cabins, with palm-leaf roofs, situated at distances on each side of the road, were the habitations of the President-General, his aids and staff and all the principal chiefs and officers who were not in the line. In the intervals the reserve corps were encamped in the open air, which were then composed of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th light battalions, with 1,700 men, and the 4th and 11th of the line, with 780 men. The pieces of artillery not yet placed, the carriages of the park, some tents, the hospital wagons, and a few eating-houses, formed a wide street, in which were constantly moving soldiers and officers of all grades, and that multitude of adventurers who always accompany an army. But provisions for the troops were very scarce. The few sutlers to be found instantly sold all their bad provisions, without satisfying the hunger of those who reached their eating-shops at a later moment; the water, brought in barrels on mules from the bottom of the barranca, was obtained with much difficulty; and the reverberating sun, in that climate, excited a debilitating thirst, which the soldiers sometimes relieved by chewing the prickly leaves of maguey, that produced severe sickness. Finally, the multitude of insects, almost imperceptible, kept the blood in a continual irritation, and even lacerated the bodies of those on whom they fed.

The American army had encamped on the road, in front of our positions on the right, at the distance of about three quarters of a league. On the 11th, one of their guerrilias which came out to reconnoitre, had an encounter with our advance, in which we lost three soldiers, and the Americans, as we afterwards learned, had an officer wounded. On the following days, an attack was impatiently expected. General Santa Anna mounted his horse at day-break, and, escorted by his staff, reviewed the line, paying particular attention to the dismounted men, and the construction of barracks for the troops, and returned about noon to head-quarters. In the evening he was mounted again till sun-down, when he retired, accompanied by some of his adjutants, and the principal chiefs of the army to dine, while at intervals a military band, stationed outside, performed choice pieces of music.

With vanity then he supposed that he had stopped the triumphal march of the enemy. Flattered by his fortune, which had abandoned him for an instant in 1844, he believed it had returned to smile on his arrival in the Republic in 1846; and he cherished fatal illusions, perhaps produced by want of foresight. Under a complete fascination, and despising even the voice of science, he required the humiliation of those who surrounded him, and was inaccessible to reason and truth. Some of our chiefs, also, destitute of interest in the cause, confined themselves to blaming his conduct in private circles, without having all the energy necessary to dissuade him from his errors. We have heard some one boast, after passing along our line, for the first time, of having observed important defects in the general plan of defence, which he communicated only to his friends, presaging an inevitable misfortune.

The enemy remained in camp opposite our positions, without undertaking the attack so much desired by our army, who looked forward with determination to victory or death. Their sufferings rendered their condition more distressing, and continually increased their anxiety for a battle.

And to him who, for the first time, found himself in the midst of an army, in the presence of the enemy, in circumstances so solemn for the country, beholding the soldier at last in the exercise of his chivalrous mission, and participating in his sufferings and isolation, to one who, from that scene, contemplated a whole nation carelessly abandoned to the fate of a handful of men, and read, as in a book, one of the most important pages of our history, to one, in short, who looked upon that new and imposing situation through the glass of time, it seemed like realizing a dream of the imagination.

General Santa Anna, more impatient perhaps than any one else, wishing to provoke the enemy to some movement, and to obtain some information of the state and number of the opposing forces, made arrangements, on the night of the 14th, that the cavalry should march out the next day, under the command of General Canalizo, making a reconnoissance on the American camp, without hazarding a decisive action, and above all things to take a few prisoners, that he might interrogate them concerning what he wished to know. D. Angel Frias, Governor of Chihuahua, who had come from his state, after the lamentable battle of the Sacramento, to implore aid against the invaders, and, full of generous patriotism, had asked leave to take part in the approaching contest, was appointed by the General-in-chief to accompany that expedition, and to interrogate for him the prisoners who might be captured.

On the 15th, at break of day, the cavalry arrived from Corral Falso, consisting of the 5th and 9th regiments, the Morelia and Coraceros, and the squadrons of Jalapa, Húzares, Chalchicomula, and Orizava; and, soon after sunrise, the General-in-chief put them in motion, making them file along the rear of our camp, and pass by a rugged path which declined to the Rio del Plan, in order that afterwards, mounting the opposite height, they might cross it to surprise the enemy's left. After that force had marched, General Santa Anna, proceeding to our position on the right, the only point from which the American encampment could be discerned, awaited the result of the movement. A few of the enemy's guerrilias showed themselves on the very hill where our cavalry were to make their appearance, and the General and those who accompanied him anxiously looked for the moment when our forces should meet and destroy them, perhaps without allowing a single soldier to escape. But they waited in vain a long time, until the General, growing impatient, and wishing to do them some injury, ordered a few cannon to be fired, which, although perhaps not reaching them, made them disperse and disappear, not, however, until some of their marksmen had shot a few rifles at our left flank.

Soon after the return of General Santa Anna to head-quarters, Colonel Codallos, his Excellency's adjutant, who had been sent to hasten the cavalry with an order for General Canalizo, returned excessively fatigued. He said that he had made extraordinary exertions to perform his commission; that the path which the forces had to pursue was impracticable; that the difficulties finally had become so great, that they had already lost two or three dragoons in the defiles, who, falling down the rocks, horse and man, had perished at the bottom of the precipice. The General-in-chief, therefore, desisted from the movement, and the cavalry returned by the hills to Corral Falso, where they arrived at sun-set, with their horses completely broken down.

The enemy having made no movement on the 16th, their intentions were doubted, and it was even imagined that, intimidated by the position of our army, they would not make an attack, but retire, to await reinforcements from the United States. It was ascertained, also, from two prisoners, that the yellow fever had made great ravages among the American troops, which added to the evils of their position. At length, however, on the 17th, General Alcorta, having gone out at noon to make a reconnoissance, by the hill of the Atalaya, met a portion of the enemy's forces, which he fought on his retreat with our advance, while the 3d Infantry, that garrisoned the Telégrafo, came down to protect them. General Santa Anna immediately proceeded thither, sending down several corps, after ordering the reserve column to form on the road. He placed the light battalions on the declivity of the Telégrafo in several lines, in echellon, from the centre of that position, and the 4th of the Line towards the left, where the enemy were charging with the greatest resolution; while at the summit, on the parapets, remained a portion of the 3d of the line and the 11th infantry. The 6th infantry moved to the right, at the order of General Vega, preventing, with their battery, the turning of the position. A very vigorous fire was sustained on both sides, and the assaults of the Americans upon our lines were repulsed with the greatest vigor. The presence of General Santa Anna, who, on the top of the hill, accompanied by his staff, directed the action, gave animation to the troops. The lively vivas to the Republic, to independence, and to the General-in-chief, that burst forth and which greeted his Excellency, excited in them spirited enthusiasm. Our soldiers confronted death with courage; they defied it, and the delight of victory shone in their countenances. The battery on the summit, commanded by Lieutenant Olzinger, was dexterously managed, causing much destruction among the Americans, who, divided into three sections, were charging upon the left, the centre, and right of the position, and succeeded in advancing furthest on the left, yet failed to gain any decided advantage. Being assisted at that point by the 4th of the line, they poured upon them a terrible fire, which disabled a multitude of soldiers and officers. In the other points equal resistance was made, so that the action was prolonged from hour to hour, but finally terminated, the enemy being repulsed at all points. Some retreated to the very hill of the Atalaya, and some penetrated by the bushy cañadas, which were discovered on the left of our positions.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, the beat of the drums, the bands, and the enthusiastic vivas diffused universal rejoicing through our camp. More than 200 men, who had fallen dead or wounded that evening, lay upon a field, which, by their efforts, for one more day belonged to the Republic. The bodies of the unfortunate dead men were interred in the night, and the wounded were sent to Jalapa in wagons, the motion of which increased the poignancy of their sufferings. The corps that had sustained the action retired to their respective encampments, with the exception of the 4th infantry and the 1st and 2d Light, which that night reinforced the garrison of the hill. An express immediately set off for Mexico, with the news of the favorable result of our arms that morning. It was the general conviction that night, that the enemy would begin their attack by the left, after the reconnoissance which had been made, and it is very remarkable that our resistance was greater when they only attempted to try our strength, than when they proposed decidedly to conquer us.

On the same day, the 17th, the brigade of General Arteaga arrived at Jalapa, composed of the active battalions and the National Guard of Puebla; and they had scarcely retired to their quarters before an order was received, from General Santa Anna, to take up their march immediately for Cerro-Gordo. Without taking any rest after their journey, those wretched soldiers proceeded; and most of them reached Dos Rios that night, leaving various parties behind, who could not endure the fatigue. On the following day, at a very critical moment indeed, the united brigade arrived at Cerro-Gordo.

Although General Santa Anna apparently fixed his whole attention on the position of the right, where he naturally expected the decisive attack, instructed by what had happened, he sent two 12-pounders and one 16, that night, up the hill; but the last only reached half way up, on the left side. He also ordered the chiefs of engineers, Robles and Cano, to construct the most necessary fortifications on that eminence; and, on the following day, before dawn, he himself placed a battery on the side of the road, almost in front of head-quarters, at the aperture of a bushy barranca. The Americans, in the course of the night, also established a battery in the hill of the Atalaya; and their preparations for an attack on the following day, were interrupted only by a few cannon shots, which General Vasquez, Commandante of the Telégrafo, ordered to be fired at them.

At dawn on the 18th, the roar of the enemy's artillery resounded through the camps, as a solemn announcement of a battle.

On the hill, where the brave insurgents had in former days shed their blood for independence, now waved our flag; and under its shadow, from that elevation, was seen a line of men, who were to serve as a wall against the invader. Among the files, the different and distinctive ranks of the army, from the common soldier to the General-in-chief, then invested with the supreme dignity of the nation, appeared at that time in all the prestige and with all the splendor which the illusions of patriotism conceded to them.

The enemy, using the battery of Atalaya, opened from thence, for some hours, their fire upon the Telégrafo, from which our own replied. General Santa Anna then employed himself in completing the battery by the roadside; and the engineers, Robles and Cano, under the enemy's fire, erected temporary works on the declivity of the Telégrafo, on the very spot where the corps who defended the centre of the position, the evening before, had formed. Above the positions of the centre and the right of our line, were now the same forces which had previously garrisoned them; upon the hill the 1st and 2d Light were sent, which had gone down early in the morning, to take their rations; and the 6th infantry returned to cover the right. The 4th of the line remained on the spot, where they had fought so bravely on the 17th. The cavalry, which had been ordered down from Corral Falso in the night, formed on the road, resting their right opposite the battery just erected, and were supported by the 11th infantry. The 3d and 4th light battalions remained also formed on the road, ready to march to any point that might be designated.

Such was the disposition of our forces, before sunrise, while the cannonade was becoming more and more active between the two hills, until the roar was repeated every instant. The enemy, without cessation, poured down grenades, rockets, and all other kinds of projectiles, which fell upon the hill, upon the road and even far beyond our camp. Their columns, in the meantime, marched beyond the Atalaya, by the crags in front of our left; and about seven in the morning, one of them, under the command of General Twiggs, commenced the attack upon the Telégrafo.

General Santa Anna, as soon as he had established the battery on the left, proceeded to the positions on the right, influenced perhaps by his first idea. But stopping after he had passed the battery of the centre, and observing from that spot, the activity with which the cannonade was sustained on our part, sent orders to General Vazquez, not to expend his park, and to shelter the troops from the enemy's fire. Then returning by the road, on arriving at the foot of the Telégrafo, the fire of musketry opened, and he immediately sent up the 3d and 4th Light battalions to aid the troops in defending that point.

The Americans charged with firmness, deploying as skirmishers, covering themselves among the bushes and briers that were on the ground upon the lines, scarcely marked out, which it had been intended to construct that morning, being supported by the 3d of the line, the 2d Light, and part of the 4th. They made equal exertions against the left of the Telégrafo, defended by the 4th of the line, and against the right, where the 6th infantry was posted, to reinforce them, as on the previous evening. The artillery had ceased to play on both sides, on account of the proximity of the combatants. The fire of the musketry was as active as the excitement of the contest. Death, flapping her wings over that bloody field, set on fire in some places by the projectiles of the enemy, and which was mixed in a horrible manner with the thick smoke that enveloped thousands of men, crimsoned with the contest. Our soldiers fell in heaps in the midst of the confusion, and the enemy falling also, were instantly replaced by others, who seemed to reproduce them. There fell the worthy Colonel Palacios, commander of the artillery of the field, wounded by the enemy's balls; there a warrior's fame crowned the career of General Vazquez, in the fulness of his energies with a glorious death, amidst the tumult of battle, and there hundreds of brave men shed their blood in the most holy cause. This commander should have been succeeded by his second, General Uraga, but he was at the head of his battalion, the 4th of the line, on the left declivity of the Telégrafo; and having not a moment to lose, General Baneneli took the command, whose corps, the 3d Light, had remained in reserve, sheltered from the fire by the very summit of the hill. The activity of the engagement redoubling more and more, destroyed new victims. The 2d Light and the 3d and 4th of the line, had lost almost their entire force, and even the last the greater part of its officers. The enemy, pressing upon our troops with superior numbers, successively gained possession of the lower works of the position, and without losing an instant, rapidly ascended to assault the last crest of the hill.

Some of our soldiers now began to leave their ranks, and to descend the opposite side, attempting to mingle with the wounded, who were retiring, but General Santa Anna observing it ordered some of his adjutants to prevent this disorder, and they either on compulsion, or by the stimulus of enthusiasm, succeeded in persuading the fugitives to return.

In the meantime, General Baneneli appealed to the last resource, and ordered his men to charge bayonets. They, eager to join in an action which they had only heard, immediately hastened this movement in full force, to come up to where they were directed; but, surprised at finding themselves hand to hand with an enemy so superior in numbers, and surrounded on all sides, were panic-struck in an instant, fell into disorder, and their commander in vain endeavored to keep them in their ranks. Being himself involved in the crowd with the chiefs of engineers and other officers, who endeavored, sword in hand, to keep back the men, they were actually rolled together down the opposite declivity, borne along by the multitude, which poured onward like a torrent from the height.

On the summit of the hill now was seen, in the midst of a column of dense smoke, a multitude of Americans, standing amidst the flashing light of their fires, which were directed against the enormous mass of men precipitating themselves down the steep declivity, covered, as it were, with a white robe from the color of their dress. That shocking spectacle was like the violent eruption of a volcano, throwing out flames and cinders from its bosom, and spreading them over all its surface.

Among the fire and smoke, and above the mass of blue formed by the Americans behind the summit of the Telégrafo, still floated our deserted flag. But the banner of the stars was soon raised by the enemy upon the same staff, and for an instant both became entangled and confounded together, our own at length falling to the ground, amidst the shouts and roar of the victors' guns, and the mournful cries and confused voices of the vanquished.

It was now three quarters past ten o'clock in the morning. The enemy had appeared on the right of our line during the attack on the Telégrafo; and advancing in column upon our position of the centre, endeavored to take all our entrenchments by assault. Captain Godinez of the navy, commanding the artillery, had concerted with the respective commanders of the three positions, to allow the enemy to advance upon any of them without firing, until they should approach within a short distance, taking the precaution to have the cannon loaded with grape shot. The American column, composed of volunteers, under the command of General Pillow, approached nearer and nearer to our lines without receiving a single shot; but, as soon as they reached a convenient place, a close discharge of our pieces, which raked their ranks, accompanied with a vigorous volley of small arms from the three positions, made a horrible slaughter among the enemy, threw them into disorder, and obliged them to make a precipitate retreat.

Before they could reorganize, and when our soldiers had not suffered the slightest loss, the Telégrafo had yielded; and the Americans who had possession of it, descending by the right declivity, upon the battery on the road, which our forces had not begun to use, entirely cut off those positions, now surrounded on all sides, and commanded by the hill, from which the enemy directed their fire. General Jarero no longer attempted any resistance, but surrendered, with his force.

When the Telégrafo was lost, the 6th infantry had retreated to the positions on the right, where they capitulated with the other corps. The grenadier battalion, which had been drawn out from the battery of the centre to the foot of the hill, chiefly dispersed, in spite of the exertions made to collect it.

The brigade of General Arteaga, that had arrived in the midst of the conflict, being infected by the disorder of the other forces, fell into confusion, opposite head-quarters, without having come into action. The 11th infantry, in obedience to different orders from the Commander-in-chief, made repeated marches and countermarches for that same point; while the scattered remains of the 2d, 3d, and 4th light battalions, and 3d and 4th of the line, there likewise became disordered; and the entire mass of men, panic-struck, without morale, without discipline, moved about in that small piece of road, in the most frightful state of confusion.

An enthusiastic officer harangued the troops at the pitch of his voice, assuring them that they had yet lost nothing, wishing to reanimate the spirit now dead in all that unfortunate crowd. General Baneneli, rushing in with his horse, and full of wrath, poured forth a thousand horrible imprecations upon his soldiers, and with the butt of his pistol threatened particularly one of his captains. The General-in-chief vented his rage upon the officers who had lost their positions; and the agitation of the multitude, and the difficulties of the ground, with the general dangers and desperation, rendered the scene indescribable.

In the meantime, the enemy's column, commanded by General Worth, passing the barrancas and crags on our left, which had been deemed inaccessible, approached the battery that had been thrown up that day, the only remaining one in our possession. The General-in-chief ordered General Canalizo to charge with the cavalry; but the woods absolutely prevented the execution of the movement. The column advanced, in spite of the fire of the cannon, in a direction for the road, to the left of our battery, to cut off our retreat. When, however, they had approached near enough, more than two hundred skirmishers were sent forward, whose balls, as if with a breath of wind, fast cleared away the men at our guns, which were supplied by the artillery and a party of cuirassiers, who had been ordered to dismount to reinforce the battery. The first adjutant, Velasco, chief of the cuirassiers, had the glory of falling at the foot of it. The skirmishers advanced to the front of the battery, so that the head of the column was very near the road; when our cavalry, seeing that they were about to be cut off, retreated rapidly by the Jalapa road. The last effort was then made by Robles, and the brave artillery officers, Malagon, Argüelles, and Olzinger, who, surrounded on all sides, turned their pieces towards the left, directing them against the head of the column, a few moments before the skirmishers, who rushed upon them with the bayonet, got possession of them, and turned them against us.

General Santa Anna, accompanied by some of his adjutants, proceeded by the road to the left of the battery, when the enemy's column, now coming out of the woods, absolutely prevented his passage by a discharge which obliged him to fall back. The carriage in which he had left Jalapa was riddled with shot, the mules killed and taken by the enemy, as well as a wagon containing sixteen thousand dollars, received the day before for the pay of the troops. Every tie of command and obedience now being broken among our troops, safety alone being the object, and all being involved in a frightful whirl, they rushed desperately to the narrow pass of the defile that descends to the Plan del Rio, where the General-in-chief had proceeded, with the chiefs and officers who accompanied him.

Horrible, indeed, was the descent by that narrow and rocky path, where thousands rushed, disputing the passage with desperation, and leaving a track of blood upon the road. All classes being confounded, all military distinction and respect were lost, the badges of rank became marks for sarcasms, that were only meted out according to their grade and humiliation. The enemy, now masters of our camp, turned their guns upon the fugitives. This augmented more and more the terror of the multitude crowded through the defile, and pressed forward every instant by a new impulse, which increased the confusion and disgrace of the ill-fated day.

Cerro-Gordo was lost! * * * Mexico was open to the iniquity of the invader. * * *

(III.)

General Santa Anna, frowning and silent, letting his horse go almost at his will, and followed by a bleeding crowd, descended to the bottom of the barranca, crossed the river, and climbed the opposite height. There it was probable he would meet an ambush of the enemy, who would have killed with impunity as many as might ascend in disorder by the narrow sloping path, unable to defend themselves or to find any refuge.

Having reached the summit, the General halted, and ordered Generals Ampudia and Rangel and Colonel Ramiro to collect at that point all the dispersed, that they might be drawn off in order and in the best manner possible. Then, taking to the right, he proceeded towards Encero, by a path almost parallel to the road from Cerro-Gordo to Jalapa. He was followed by a small company:—Generals Perez, Arguëlles, and Romero, and the chiefs and officers Schiafino, Escovar, Galindo, Vega, Rosas, Quintana, and Arriaga, and Srs. Trias, Armendaris, Urquidi, and a nephew of his own.

From the field of battle shots were still heard occasionally, fired at the wretched and defenceless men who had not succeeded in escaping.

In the meantime a party of the enemy's cavalry, with two light pieces, had left there, by the Jalapa road, in pursuit of our cavalry, and were about to reach the Encero almost at the same moment with Santa Anna. On discovering each other, the Americans fired several cannon shots, and General Santa Anna, leaving the path, proceeded towards the left, in a direction at right angles to it.

He wandered for a long time, uncertain, with his companions, without pursuing any fixed route, until he formed a resolution, and then proceeded in the paths leading to the hacienda of Tuzamápan.

Having passed many villages and scattered ranchos, among the undulations of an unknown district, they continued their march, all overcome with amazement at the misfortune which they had suffered. A melancholy expression overspread the countenances of those who accompanied General Santa Anna. Everything around, with the presence of this man, the first chief of our nation and our army, whom, a few hours before, they had seen erect and proud, possessed of power which he exercised, and of hopes of the brightest glory, now humbled and confused, seeking among the wretched a refuge to flee to, was to them a lively picture of the fall of our country, of the debasement of our name, of the anathema pronounced against our race.

At several places the General dismounted to take some rest, and, sitting on a bench where his attendants placed it, he remained immovable, unable, in consequence of his lameness, to take a single step. A horse, which he asked for in the place of his own, was pertly refused by a curate, and all these occurrences, insignificant as they were in themselves, appeared deeply affecting in existing circumstances.

About five in the morning he reached the hacienda of Tuzamápan, where he resolved to remain until the next day. Soon after his arrival, two or three soldiers of the 11th appeared, bringing with them the chest of their corps, which contained some money, to deliver it to their commander, General Perez: an honorable deed, which appears to us worthy of praise, in a few unhappy men, who were about to be abandoned in these places in the greatest misery.

At eleven at night the overseer of the hacienda informed the General that he had just received notice of the approach of a party of Americans, detached for the pursuit, who were about to surround the house. Several musket shots were soon heard, at a very short distance, which confirmed the news, and it was necessary to set off immediately to secure a safe retreat.

The night was so dark that the nearest objects were invisible. The firing became nearer and more frequent, and the servants of the hacienda, working mechanically, managed so that the litera prepared for the General was not ready. He therefore mounted his horse, and a servant on foot, with a candle, took his place before him, serving as guide to the party, who filed, one after the other, by a road which seemed to sink under the feet of the horses. It was one of those steep descents, leading down from the hill country between Tezumápan and Orizava. After travelling a long time, they halted in the ruins of a small sugar-mill, where they awaited the approach of day, when they continued their march.

Having crossed a river, whose current flowed on to meet that of the Junta, they came to the banks of the latter, where flowed its waters, placid, blue, and deep, through one of its highest ridges. This rose almost perpendicular, covered with most beautiful leafy groves, forming an extensive border, and at its foot stood many old trees, which, with their thick branches, threw a sombre light upon the place, and gave it an aspect truly majestic. A few fishermen, who live there in miserable hovels, took them over on a small raft, guided by a rope, extending from one shore to the other.

By winding they ascended the elevation which rises on that bank, and finally reached the rancho of the Volador, and remained long at this place. There, for the first time, General Santa Anna broke silence, and in conversation expressed the idea of continuing the war with obstinacy, by appealing to the last resource which was left us, the system of guerrilias.

At a short distance from the rancho, the road which they followed leads among most beautiful trees; and, from some open spots, are seen, now on this side and now on that, profound ravines, whose bottom was lost in obscurity, caused by the thickness of the dark green foliage of the immense groves, covering that region with perpetual spring.

Passing, with difficulty, the overhanging and slippery precipices, on whose top they were travelling, where sometimes the General was obliged to leave the litera in which he had been brought to the rancho of the Volador, they stopped at nightfall, at a rancheria situated on the right of the road, in the midst of the hills.

On the following day, in traversing a country like that they had left behind, they arrived about ten in the morning, opposite Huatusco, a flourishing town, embellished with beautiful suburbs. It was the first place of any importance they had seen on their way, and, in the state in which they arrived, accompanied by General Santa Anna, against whom a violent hatred was excited, they anticipated an unfavorable reception. But they forgot the true Mexican character.

In the street which leads into the town, had been formed a line of the dispersed troops who had been collected there; the Ayuntamiento in due form came out on foot, to receive the President General, and to conduct him to the dwelling of the sub-prefect, where an abundant breakfast had been prepared, and many of the neighbors crowded with them to the house.

We believe that reception, unimportant as it would have appeared in other circumstances, was then a virtual triumph to Santa Anna, who confidently saw in it a ray of hope of returning to power, which appeared to have been wrested from his hands, at the moment when the battle was lost. From this time he evinced more ardor for the continuance of the war, and enthusiastically recalled the memory of General Victoria, who, in the days of misfortune to the friends of independence, remained so long in concealment, in a cavern in that neighborhood, lamenting the oppression of his country.* He directed attention to the constancy of that hero, and promised, by the exercise of that single virtue, a happy result for Mexico. In the night he despatched an express to the supreme government, with a very vague, and certainly very unjust report of the battle of Cerro-Gordo, and presented himself again in the political arena, from which he had apparently been shut out for ever.

On the following morning, he and his companions in misfortune departed from Huatusco, a town whose memory they will always gratefully cherish, for the hospitality they received from its inhabitants, and attended by several citizens who accompanied them, they took the road to Orizava.

On the way they met a group of dispersed soldiers, on whom the General poured out his anger, uttering a thousand unbecoming expressions, and cruelly chastising them with a whip.

The beautiful peak of Orizava was soon after discovered, reflecting like a mirror, the beams of the sun, which fell obliquely upon its snowy summit, and in a short time the little town of Coscomatepec appeared, whose bells were heard afar, celebrating the arrival of General Santa Anna. He was received in the house of the Alcalde by the musicians of the place, and complimented with a breakfast.

The General pursued his route, crossing several rivers, whose beds lie in the depths of those picturesque barrancas. Passing several little terraces carpeted with grass, at length the city of Orizava was discovered on the left, with its white houses mingled with the green groves of its environs. They proceeded by the right, through a country of a varying and pleasing aspect, until they entered by a lane through cornfields, which terminates at the gates of Orizava.

Near the entrance of the city the General halted, to wait for night, and there they were met by Sres D. José Joaquin Pesado and

D. Manuel Tornel, and Generals Leon and García Terán, who had come out to receive him in carriages, with many other persons on horseback, attracted by curiosity. As soon as it grew dark, leaving the litera in which he had come, the General entered a landau of these gentlemen, and in the midst of a large cavalcade, entered the city at a rapid gait, by the principal streets, and stopped at the house of Señor Tornel. On alighting from the coach, a crowd of curious people assembled around him, when some ill-judging flatterer broke out with "vivas to the illustrious General Santa Anna, the hero of Tampico, and the deliverer of Mexico!" It would be very difficult to describe the bitter impression created by this reprehensible applause, which was rather a sarcasm on that occasion.

The officers of the little brigade commanded by General Leon, and composed of troops which they had raised in the state of Oajaca, presented themselves that night, to compliment General Santa Anna. He, from that time, actively devoted himself to augmenting those forces as much as possible, and fixed his residence in this city. Meanwhile, circumstances might permit that this should become the point for re-union for all the dispersed troops of Cerro-Gordo. They consequently met there in succession, except the cavalry, who were ordered to San Andres Chalchicomula. But many officers and soldiers, to the disgrace of the nation, appeared in Mexico about the same time, and did not join the ranks which they had abandoned, until the arrival of the army at the capital.

Those who did not belong to it, left Orizava too after its arrival, and, on ascending the elevated summits of Aculzingo, leaving below them that region where they had suffered so great a misfortune, it seemed to them that they saw turned down the most melancholy page of our history.

CHAPTER XII.

RETREAT OF THE CAVALRY. ABANDONMENT OF PEROTE AND LA OLLA, PUEBLA, AND AMOZOC.

The unfortunate action of Cerro-Gordo not only caused the positive defeat, which, with much pain, we have described in the preceding chapter, but destroyed, in a remarkable degree, the spirit of the troops who escaped the disaster.

While General Santa Anna was proceeding towards Orizava, General Canalizo pursued his retreat towards the capital. From Banderilla he sent an official letter to the supreme government, communicating the disaster at Cerro-Gordo, and continued his march in great haste. He did not stop in Perote a sufficient time to draw any supplies of clothes or arms from the depots belonging to the army, nor to save a few pieces of artillery. A few bales of tobacco deposited there, and probably owned by the neighboring authorities, were taken by the soldiers. When Lieutenant-colonel Robles passed, who was one of the last to leave the field of Cerro-Gordo, the fortress was entirely deserted.

Beyond Cerro-Gordo there is another point on the Vera Cruz road, which, in the opinion of intelligent men, is susceptible of defence. The military operation which was thought to be practicable, was, to collect the remains of the army of Cerro-Gordo, to increase and re-organize it in the best manner possible, and to oppose to the enemy a second obstacle. But, instead of this, their derangement and loss of spirit increased, and the point of La Olla, which was recommended to General D. Gregorio Gomez, was abandoned, and several pieces were broken, which, even at the last extremity, might have been transported to Puebla or Mexico.*

General Canalizo, for his part, took no measure whatever, but continued his retreat to Puebla with the remains of his cavalry.

In the meantime the dispersed soldiers, learning that General Santa Anna had arrived at Orizava, marched thither, while in Mexico it was supposed he was killed, or in the hands of the enemy. The cavalry of Canalizo, who were at Puebla, were ordered to take post in San Andres Chalchicomula, which they did. Two battalions, of 1500 men each, were formed in Orizava, of the remains of the infantry, and named the Mixto de Santa Anna and the 4th Light. To this force must be added the Orizava brigade, under General D. Antonio Leon, and contained about 1000 men, and two 6-pounders, but without apparatus or cartridges proper to load them. General Santa Anna labored to re-organize the force, but, in spite of all, he was unable to collect more than 4000 men, destitute of clothing and munitions, and without the energy and spirit so essential for soldiers.

The Americans, on the other side, collected their wounded at Cerro-Gordo, and established their hospitals at Jalapa. A few days afterwards, while Santa Anna was engaged, as we have said, in reforming and augmenting his forces, they extended their line by occupying Perote. Here they established another hospital, and at

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* La Olla will be recognised under its more popular and corrupted name of La Hoya. An olla is a dish or basin, and in this case refers to the crater of the small and extinct volcano, at a short distance from the road leading through that dismal pass of scoriæ, pines, shrubs, and wild flowers.

This place is gloomy even at mid-day, and looks more formidable than it is in reality. It could easily be turned on either side, and no one, having any military judgment, would entertain the idea of defending it. This remark is made after having carefully examined the position, and even when the heights were occupied by Mexican troops, who were awaiting an opportunity to attack.—Am. Ed.

Tepeyahualco they formed an entrenched camp, under the command of Colonel Garland.*

The Americans, who believed that Santa Anna was destroyed for ever, did not imagine that we would in a long time collect a respectable force of an army. They were much surprised to learn, that while we were obliged to succumb under the misfortunes and the accumulation of unfavorable circumstances mentioned, yet, in regard to perseverance and firmness, we were like our predecessors, the Spaniards. Chance had placed General Santa Anna in a magnificent strategetical position, since it was clear, that, in case the enemy should move from their positions, his forces would flank the principal wagon-road, the infantry being in Orizava, and the cavalry in San Andres Chalchicomula. Whether it was the plan of the Americans to wait for new instructions from the United States, or whether the position occupied by General Santa Anna made them delay their determination to march, it is certain that they remained inactive for twenty days. They confined themselves to keeping the posts which we have indicated, and to acting within the limits of the territory occupied, by short excursions, to prevent the guerrilias, that had begun to be formed after the action of Cerro-Gordo, from causing losses to their horses and expresses.

But General Santa Anna, who, in fact, occupied a very important position at Orizava, thought it disgraceful to remain inactive. He, therefore, prepared to leave that place, and advance to Puebla, where he expected to find supplies of money, ammunition, arms, and men, to make a second defence of the passage to the capital of the Republic. Yielding, therefore, to the belief, and being unable to submit to passive measures, he gave the order of march for Puebla, on the 12th of May; and the brigade of General Leon set off immediately. On the 13th marched that of General Perez, and on the 14th the cavalry of San Andres Chalchicomula, under the command of General D. Lino Alcorta, who had labored particularly in reorganizing the corps of this army.

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* This is a singular misconception. No entrenched camp was formed, nor are there any signs of one. Possibly the ditches beyond Tepeyahualco, and not far from Oho de Agua, recently dug for agricultural purposes, may have misled. But no military man could ever mistake their object.—Am. Ed.

The infantry followed the line of the summits of Aculcingo, Cañada de Iztápan, Amozoc, and Puebla; and the cavalry, marching towards El Parmar, from Chalchicomula, took the same route, covering the rear of the infantry. After four days' march, the division arrived at Puebla, followed by General Santa Anna and his staff.

The Americans, on being informed of this proceeding, put themselves in motion, by brigades, in the order in which they were posted, so that there was only an interval of one day's march between the troops of the Republic and those of the United States of the North.

Puebla was in a peculiar situation, which it would be difficult for us exactly to describe. The news of the disaster at Cerro-Gordo, fully confirmed by the arrival of the routed cavalry of General Canalizo, produced profound grief and despair. The inhabitants expected the Americans every moment to occupy the city, which was unprepared for defence, and where terror and dismay prevailed. Unexpectedly, the vanguard of General Santa Anna appeared; when many believed that he had not moved from Orizava. The Mexican troops had hardly effected their entrance when the news was spread, that they were closely followed by General Worth's brigade, which had moved from Jalapa with large trains and preparations. These events produced great agitation in all classes of society in Puebla; and the truth of history compels us to say, that general confusion and fear prevailed.

As soon as General Santa Anna arrived, and took his lodgings in the governor's palace, several measures were proposed. One of these was to seize horses by force, to remount the cavalry, who were in a deplorable condition. The circumstances of war justify measures of this kind; but those who executed the order performed it in such a manner as to make their conduct odious. If we mention only one insignificant instance, it is only because it served to destroy the sympathy of the people for the remains of the unfortunate army of Cerro-Gordo. Another measure dictated by General Santa Anna was, to demand a loan of thirty thousand dollars, only ten of which he received. The Bishop Vasques, whose conduct, like that of all the clergy, was very far from being such as patriotism and dignity would have suggested, went off to his country seat, at a short distance from Puebla. It was the maxim with Señor Vasquez, that the church ought in no case to lend nor to give even the smallest portion of its property. In this rule he was inflexible, and never departed from it. When he returned to Puebla, after the entrance of the Americans, he also acted in a manner which was generally disapproved.

After the adoption of the measures which we have just mentioned, General Santa Anna assembled a junta, to determine the plan of operations to be pursued, being inclined to have Puebla defended. The Lic. D. Rafael Inzunza, who was then Governor, explained that it was wholly destitute of resources, as four pieces of artillery, and about three thousand muskets, belonging to the State, had been lost at Cerro-Gordo; and that, without arms, without munitions, and with a treasury almost empty, no favorable result could be hoped for. But, what contributed most to prevent the defence from being made, was the apathy and fear that had taken possession of the inhabitants. Puebla, by the boldness which she had displayed in the civil dissensions, had acquired the reputation of the most warlike city of the Republic. Puebla, who in the year 1844 alone opposed a numerous and spirited army, and thereby acquired the title of the invincible, falsified her ancient reputation for energy at the time when it was most needed, and did not even think of defending herself from her invaders. Far from recovering her courage with the troops of Santa Anna, she desired that they would evacuate the place, and regarded them as a mark which would attract the storm.

At eleven in the night of the 19th, a servant, in the post-house of the diligencias of Amozoc, brought a sealed packet, which contained a communication from General Worth, with promises to respect the city and its inhabitants, if the troops of the North were received in a peaceable manner.

General Santa Anna arranged for the infantry leaving on the 20th, and taking the direction of San Martin Tesmelúcan. He placed 2000 horse in the garita of Amozoc, by which the Americans must enter, and, guided by information, which was doubtless false, brought by a spy, deceived himself with the idea of being able to surprise a section of 1000 Americans, who, he was told, were approaching in the greatest disorder, by the road of Nopalúcan.

The General then ordered the cavalry to form in column by squadrons. He reduced the front by companies, and, at eight in the morning of the 21st the march was undertaken, to search in fact for that fortune which had constantly, in all emergencies, deserted the Generals and the arms of the Republic.

On the height of Chachapa, from which the town of Amozoc is to be seen, our cavalry discovered that they had been misled by the guide, and suddenly found themselves in sight of the strong division of the enemy's vanguard.

Apprised of our approach, they advanced to form a semicircle with rapidity, defended by the temporary fortification offered by a few enclosures and the houses of laborers, and strengthened their line of battle with twelve pieces of artillery. At that moment General Santa Anna ordered to file by the left, diminishing the front to two; the head of the column occupied the height of the town, and the rear guard reached a league by the extension of that defile. The whole formed an S, within pistol-shot of the enemy's soldiers, who encircled the town like a blue border, from the color of their uniforms. Those whom we had intended to put to the sword, were now incorporated at the favorable moment with their companions, for they had undertaken their march at seven o'clock the night before, and in the course of it travelled ten leagues. The result was therefore, that our troops were the party surprised, when entangled in a defile, within pistol-shot, they began to suffer from a very active fire of cannon, which they could not return. For they were filing with difficulty, one by one, in front of a battery of twelve guns. They consequently were compelled to retreat by the slope of the Malinche, stopping in a wood full of barrancas and thickets, which render it inaccessible, devoured by thirst and half-dead with fatigue. After passing over nine leagues in the broken ground mentioned, they arrived at five in the evening, at Puebla, weary, dispirited, and with the loss of a few of their number.

A multitude of the common people were in the garita, awaiting the result of the operation which we have hastily described. The return of the troops, the presence of Santa Anna, and the sight of a few wounded produced a momentary animation in their hearts, and the antecedent indifference was succeeded by a lively feeling of patriotism, which burst forth in cries of Viva Puebla! Viva General Santa Anna! Let the enemy die! Death to the Yankees! Let us have arms to fight!

General Santa Anna addressed them a few words. He then moved away through obscure streets, and soon found himself on the road to Mexico, preceded by the infantry and followed by the cavalry.

The populace of Puebla continued their phrensied acclamations, until finding no object before them, for want of an enemy to fight, they suddenly rushed into the Alameda, an elegant and pleasing flower-garden. They began to pull up the rose-bushes and destroy the curious balustrades, and rooted up the trees, the local authorities prudently abstaining from any interference.

On the following day a commission of the Ayuntamiento proceeded to Chachapa, to receive General Worth, and to agree upon the guarantees, which should be awarded to the submissive inhabitants.

On the 25th the American forces made their entrance, and in the following order:

Pieces of artillery.		Men.
	A picket of cavalry	100
4	light guns, General Worth, with a corps of cavalry and music, in all	1,320
2	cannon, a corps of infantry, with music	580
2	Howitzers	640
1	Mortar	
2	Cannon of 24's	
	A corps of infantry, with music	
	A corps of infantry	350
	Three wagons with soldiers	480
2	Cannon, a corps of infantry with a General	
	A corps of infantry	440
	Two hundred wagons, guarded by	400
	Total,	4,290

The singular appearance of some of the soldiers, their trains, their artillery, their large horses, all attracted the curiosity of the multitude, and at the corners and squares an immense crowd surrounded the new conquerors. The latter, extremely fatigued, confiding in the mutual guarantees stipulated by the Ayuntamiento and General Worth, or perhaps despising a people who easily permitted the occupation of their territory, while they were waiting for quarters, stacked arms in the plaza, while others wandered into the neighboring streets, to drink pulque, and to embrace the leperos, with whom they seemed old acquaintances.

There is no doubt that more than ten thousand persons occupied the plazas and the corners. One cry, one effort, the heart of one determined man could have sufficed. If once this multitude had pressed in upon the enemy, they would inevitably have perished. Nothing was done. * * *

CHAPTER XIII.

PRESIDENCY OF GENERAL D. PEDRO MARÍA ANAYA.

We have at last decided, not without hesitation, to write a chapter which we have now commenced. For among the grave occurrences of which we have determined to treat, this at first appeared destitute of interest, in relation to the results of the war, and because, as a great part of the most remarkable events of the presidency of Sr. Anaya were necessarily comprehended in the plan of other persons engaged to write other chapters, the undertaking would be, to a certain extent, superfluous.

Three points, however, appear to us worthy to call the attention. Those three are comprehended in the period with which we have finally resolved to occupy our readers, viz. the arrangements made for the defence of the capital, the end of the diplomatic negotiations on the intervention and good offices by the English minister, and, lastly, the line of conduct observed by Congress in those days, in which they discussed and approved the act of reform of the constitution of 1824.

It must be a rapid glance that we cast at those events, which, without being noisy, like the battles we have described, exerted a great, and we may say a rapid influence. For many of the determining causes, which the public do not yet know how to interpret, remain involved in mystery. The explanations exist in the power of persons, who have not judged it expedient to submit to extemporaneous censure revelations without which the series of events at that epoch of the invasion appears unconnected and incomplete.

General Santa Anna, in concert with the majority of the men designated by the name of Moderados, at his departure for Cerro-

Gordo, nominated in the chambers General D. Pedro María Anaya, President of the Republic, and he entered upon the office on the 2d of April, 1847.

The new government found opposition in the Puro party, which was dependent, though not directly, on the will of Santa Anna, and under the vigilance of his followers. Therefore, influenced by the Moderado party, it was pleased to offer the representation of the united interests of Moderados and Satanistas, a seat in the ministry, by placing in it Sr. Baranda.

These germs, which could not fail to render the course of the government very unsafe, in the most critical circumstances of the country, were concealed, so to speak, under the hopes which even the enemies of General Santa Anna conceived, or feigned to conceive, at the time when he departed for Cerro-Gordo.

But these were not very well effected, when the aspirations revived, and the serious attempts of interested persons which were made for peace, at any price, were expressed without disguise.

The numerous enemies of General Santa Anna took advantage of the murmurs in favor of their different candidates. The partisans of peace insisted in their misconception of him whom they called the *unfortunate man;* and the wealthy and the clergy opposed their inactive silence to the cry of the national agony.

Thus it was, that in the junta of generals held on the day following Sr. Anaya's accession, where the question of the defence of the capital was proposed, many considerations were offered and considered, but in a manner which deceit and momentary expedients suggested. And the council, which before had formed a plan of operations, saw with pleasure, among a thousand aspirations, one thought rise after another, in harmony with their secret wishes.

It was said in the junta, that the defence of Mexico would require expenses which could not be borne, a train of artillery which they had not, and a number of forces far superior to all existing in the Republic.

The junta finally decided on the guerrilias and the reconnoissances effected by Generals Almonte, Rincon, and others, accompanied with some engineers, and to fortify various points on the road, to fight the enemy on their march, as we shall see hereafter.

In the meantime communications, private letters and special messengers were sent to most of the States, showing them the fearful situation of the government, and throwing upon them, if they remained indifferent, the responsibility of the disasters anticipated.

These energetic communications were in most instances ineffectual, and added to the reflections then cast on the sovereignty and union of the people.

As soon as the news of the rout of Cerro-Gordo was received, the suppressed feelings of which we have spoken, re-appeared in all their energy, the cry against General Santa Anna was universal, the existence of the government was in the greatest peril in those moments when the misfortune was unknown, and yet it may be testimony in favor of that General's chivalrous fidelity, that he should have placed in serious jeopardy the dearest interests of the country.

Fear took possession of all. El Razonador, a periodical which spoke in favor of peace, being edited by D. Joaquin Patiño, and supported, as was said, by an English house, cried loudest, casting in the face our impotency, and laying down as principles the excuses of selfishness and cowardice.

For a moment all these contrarieties were on the wing. The separation of Sr. Suarez Iriarte from the ministry of the interior, because he would not listen to the Americans, proved the coldness of the Puro party. The appearance of Santa Anna in the scene, was dreaded, either because he was believed to be obstinate in favor of prosecuting the war, or on account of old prejudices. He was, therefore, assailed with all sorts of invectives, and some of his friends, being excluded from the negotiations, set him against Anaya and his counsellors, who, it was thought, were about to seize exclusively and by violence the sovereign power.

Revolutionary attempts at this time were made, more frequently and with better organization, and the government consequently entertained serious apprehensions, while the public pointed out General Valencia as the head of these movements.

Notwithstanding these serious difficulties, the government wished to settle the plan which had been proposed to establish, and which, as we have announced, they kept secret from the council of officers.

The plan was reduced, after the arduous labor undertaken with success by the minister of relations, the director and soul of the cabinet, to securing the desertion of three thousand Irishmen, which had been agreed upon, with all the formal guarantees that the case required. General Santa Anna, who only was acquainted with a part of the plan, for the cabinet did not wish to communicate the whole of it to him, was to secure the desertion by his presence, and to make an attempt on Puebla, in concert with certain persons, bound in the most solemn manner to establish in the city a movement, which the agents, whose names we cannot reveal, had organized, by overcoming dangers of every kind.

If after this attempt, which was being matured and being carried into effect with the greatest security and strength, by printing the appropriate documents, establishing private communications, and preparing everything with the utmost care, the attempt should fail, then the defence should be made at all the advantageous points offered by the road, counting, in the last extremity, on sufficient time to avoid giving an early alarm to the city, by noisy preparations for flight.

Thus General Santa Anna, through ignorance, for he was not acquainted with the plan, recommended that the city should be defended, until there should not be one stone left on another, and pretence was made of agreeing with him. Thus the labors of General Salas were encouraged, who animated the National Guards in the fortifications, and thus the gradual removal of certain tobacco officers to Morelia was allowed, and the archives were disregarded, a lamentable and fatal neglect.

The cabinet worked assiduously, and with their attention fixed on the plan, and exerted themselves to collect, as was collected at last, the fruits of their activity.

General Alvarez was directed, in virtue of urgent requests which had been made, to join General Santa Anna at the Puebla road. Five hundred men of the National Guard, were sent from Querétaro, equipped at the expense of the State, for which Governor Berdusco exerted himself with assiduity. Sr. Ocampo, from Morelia, sent the picked battalion of the National Guard, which acted so worthy a part in the valley of Mexico, and Sr. Olaguibel was daily expected in the capital, with the forces of the State under his command. Supplies were sent to the troops of San Luis. General Santa Anna was waited for, who counted, among other forces, on those sent from Oajaca, which had not even yet been in action: and finally, the purchase and repairing of arms were undertaken with so much spirit, that General Rangel took to Santa Anna the greater part of the armament with which he entered the capital. It is only because exaggerations are so common in our country, that the remark has been permitted to be made without contradiction, that General Santa Anna alone was the man who formed the army that fought in the valley of Mexico.

In order to suppress the revolutionary attempts which were daily becoming more alarming, measures were taken to draw over Valencia to the cause of the government, and he was intrusted with the command of the forces of San Luis Potosi, called to Mexico from General Mora.

Sr. Anaya, by what influence we know not, hesitated about this appointment, which he ultimately approved, authorizing Sr. Valencia to demand what was necessary, which put to rest the revolution. We shall see, in its place, the interpretation given to this conduct of the government.

It is now time for us to attend to the diplomatic affair of England, the second point which we proposed to examine in this article.

The revolution of the Citadel was nearly effected, when the envoy of Her Britannic Majesty directed a note to D. Manuel Crescencio Rejon, then minister of relations for the Republic, offering the mediation of England, to put an end to the war with the United States. Rejon replied, that a subject of such grave importance ought to be decided by Congress, which had been convoked, and was soon to meet. In the month of October, D. José María Lafragua being then minister of relations, Sr. Bankhead sent another note, but in it, perhaps by design, instead of the word *mediation*, he used *good offices*, which was passed over without being noticed in spite of the notable difference between the two expressions.—Lafragua repeated the answer of his predecessor.

The congress being now installed, the two notes of the English minister were transmitted, and it was agreed to pass them to the joint committee of relations, of war, and the special committee of Texas, to report an opinion. This most urgent business was not despatched with promptness due to it. Mr. Bankhead insisted on knowing the resolution of the government, addressing them a third note, in which he again offered the *mediation*, and which the new minister, D. José Fernando Ramirez, laid before the congress. In that body various motions were made that they would take up for discussion the opinion which the committee should report, and, after many unnecessary delays, the majority presented it to the deliberation of the representatives.

Instead of taking the vote on the general question, they called it only upon the concluding part, that the government and not congress was the proper authority, to enter into this negotiation, and to direct it as might be deemed best. This proposition was carried without a division, the measure was returned to the committees, leaving the subject soon, owing to circumstances, without any decision upon it.

If this had been well directed, it might have produced the most happy results.

The Minister Baranda, in conformity with the plan which we have imperfectly sketched, wished to know whether, in consequence of the offer by England, according to what we can assert, hostilities would be suspended during the time the negotiations should continue, and if, in consequence, Scott would remain in Puebla.

The object of these inquiries was doubtless to gain time, to restore order with the disposable forces, in the States, that disobeyed the government, and, perhaps, to provide armies and supplies to renew the campaign, in case a treaty should not be formed, in which simply the independence of Texas would be recognised, if possible, without dishonoring the country.

Our conjectures are corroborated by the departure, at that time, of the secretary of the English minister, to confer with Mr. Trist, and by the circulars sent to the United States, to ascertain whether their sanction could be relied upon.

We shall now see why all these arrangements failed.

As for the act of reforms, it was the object of a thousand misfortunes and debates. Sometimes there was no session for the want of a quorum; sometimes it was interrupted by a portion of deputies vacating their seats, through accident or design; and, finally, after crude debates on different subjects, very little progress was made. Perseverance, however, overcomes the greatest obstacles; and Sr. Otero, for this reason, is worthy of praise, for he labored day and night, with indescribable zeal, both in public and in private, in favor of his favorite object. Otero, as we afterwards heard said, judged, that if the country were left without a constitution, it would be exposed to the two-fold danger of foreign war and civil discord; and it was the duty of Congress, elected in consequence of the revolution of August, to fulfil the design of giving a constitution to the Republic. Subsequent events demonstrated that Sr. Otero was eminently right in preventing that grave subject from remaining undecided.

At length, and contrary to the public expectation, the debates were closed, and, on the 8th of May, the act of reforms was passed.

Another subject, although of less importance than the preceding, was discussed in Congress, and that was the translation of the supreme powers to Celaya, in consequence of a proposal by Srs. Zubrieta and Reynoso. It was almost impossible to conceive, even if the decree were once passed, how so many employés could at once be transported, with their families, and so many papers as the offices of archives contain.. In the last resort the plan would have failed for the absolute want of means. The project of a transfer to Celaya was therefore rejected, although the first article of another was approved for the translation to Queretaro; and the only officer sent on the way to Morelia was the one having the direction of tobacco, taking with him part of his large stock. Another parcel, which Inspector D. Mariano Compos left in Puebla, amounting to nearly three thousand tierces, was denounced by an evil-minded Mexican, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

The conduct of the Congress at that period, speaking collectively, cannot be offered, we regret to say, as a model of union and patriotism.

As we have shown, the whole plan of the government was subject to one serious combination in which they placed all their hopes of safety.

General Santa Anna, doubtless without pretending it, was the man who frustrated all the work of many and unceasing efforts.

In an unseasonable moment, and without consultation or notice, he presented himself in the vicinity of Ayotla; and members of the cabinet, who, with good reason, considered him ill-informed on events in Mexico, went to that place, and held a long conference with him.

Srs. Baranda, Trigueros y D. Fernando Ramirez were present at that interview. In it the conduct of the government was explained, the motives for appointing Sr. Valencia, and above all the overthrow of the plans by his unexpected arrival. Finally, all wished to induce his excellency to retain the command of the army, and to leave Anaya in power, that he might be free to operate untrammelled in military affairs, with the vigor and absolute will which circumstances demanded.

But a flattering voice was not wanting which, in a high sounding and complimentary discourse, said to him that these were the intrigues of enemies, and that he ought to return to power.

The change in Santa Anna was complete; and full of distrust on the one hand, doubting the friends who had restored him after the disaster at Cerro-Gordo, and jealous of the power which he supposed Valencia had acquired, he assaulted the capital, so to speak, the next day. Without giving any notice to Anaya, he took possession of the chief command, thus breaking with the Moderado party, who saw their chivalrous candidate leaving the Palace, in the most disagreeable manner.

Santa Anna very soon discovered, that the position in which he had placed himself was complicated; and the history of his renunciation and counter-renunciation is the best indication of his situation and the state of his brain.

CHAPTER XIV.

MEXICO ON THE 9TH OF AUGUST, 1847.

The march of the Americans upon the capital, so many times announced and always disproved, was commenced at length on the first days of the month of August, when they left Puebla, and leaving there a small garrison. On the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, the divisions of Twiggs, Quitman, Worth, and Pillow successively took the road. The Mexican government were informed of this important movement in good time, and immediately took appropriate measures to oppose an obstinate resistance to the enemy.

From the time when the unfavorable news of the defeat of Cerro-Gordo arrived at the capital, the Executive, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, began to make exertions to bring more troops into the field; and this contradicts the charge that party spirit has made against Sr. Anaya, blaming him for making no preparations for defence.

The arrival of General Santa Anna with the remains of the force from Cerro-Gordo and the brigade of General Leon completely changed the aspect of public affairs. Having returned to the Presidency, one of his first measures was for the defence of the capital at any cost: an idea, which, whether it deserves to be called a good or a bad one in a military sense, cannot fail to be approved by patriotism. For, even in the most unexpected event, it was much more glorious to submit fighting, than to leave the gates of Mexico open, without firing a gun at the North Americans.

However, to defend the capital obstacles were presented very difficult to be overcome. Being a city open on all sides, it required, in order to be protected from a blow by an enemy's hand, good fortifications around it, and a large army with a great number of pieces of artillery. The first demanded time and money, which were greatly wanting. With regard to the second, the disposable troops, who were about 20,000 men, were not sufficient to support so long a line, and the artillery was quite inadequate for all the points where it ought to operate.

In spite of these obstacles and others, which it would be too long to enumerate, preparations for defence were begun, by removing difficulties as far as possible. In fact, they began to labor with ardor at the fortifications. New forces were raised, to whom equipments and arms were given, with such brief instructions in discipline as the limited time allowed. The army of the North was ordered to approach the capital, having been recently placed under the command of D. Gabriel Valencia, General of Division. At the foundries of artillery cannon were cast with great industry, damaged pieces repaired, muskets refitted, and all sorts of arms constructed and mended. At the powder manufactory of Santa Fe, the work was carried on with equal spirit, in providing a large number of bombs, grenades, cannon and musket balls, and grape-shot, for the army.

Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, D. Bruno Aguilar, deserved great praise, while charged with the construction of various pieces, for the payment of which most of the funds were collected by the patriotic exertions of a junta of private persons, formed for the purpose. The Paixan guns made by that chief deserved the highest eulogiums of the intelligent, by the perfection of their workmanship, being equal to those brought by the enemy, and leaving no advantage to be boasted of in other nations most advanced in the art of war.

With respect to pecuniary resources, we cannot specify those which then existed, because we must either limit ourselves to too minute and succinct a notice, deficient in clearness, or recount the history of the financial affairs of that epoch, which would require a separate work if properly treated. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with stating, that, although there were extensive entries, there was not money enough to cover the large estimates for the war department; that the disgraceful pilfering of the public revenue, an inveterate chronic disease, was continued, and that nothing was attended to but the most urgent necessities of the state of things, and that the disposable resources were also diminished for the benefit of some through whose impure hands they passed.

The accumulation of forces mentioned, in which General Santa Anna bore a very active part, presaged a favorable result to the projected defence. The spirit of the inhabitants of the capital, who had been thrown into great consternation by the news from Cerro-Gordo, began to recover confidence, hoping that the day was near for the vindication of our honor and the triumph of our arms. Joy was seen in the faces of good citizens; selfish men and the evil-minded carefully concealed their sentiments, pretending to partake of those of an immense majority of Mexicans. The partisans of peace, ashamed, dared not to confess their feelings, and the cry of war was heard from one extremity of the city to the other.

Such was the state of things, when, on the 9th of August, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the alarm guns announced the approach of the enemy. This had been certainly ascertained in the morning, and had been announced the previous evening, so that at the hour above-mentioned, the great Plaza of the Constitution was filled with people. As soon as the guns were fired, the general alarm was sounded, the bands of the corps assembled in the Plaza, and proceeded to their respective quarters, beating their drums. The soldiers of the National Guard ran to their respective corps in obedience to the orders of the General-in-chief, and the rest of the people, breaking out in vivas, and with no stinted applause, felt in their breasts the first symptoms of the enthusiasm which strengthened their arms when the city fell into the hands of these foreigners.

We will here give, though briefly, an enumeration of the forces which were counted on, the fortifications which had been raised, and the plan which, as was afterwards known, had been formed for the defence of the capital. This consisted in awaiting the enemy in the entrenchments, and, when they were attacking any point, to make a determined resistance, while the army of the North was to take them in flank, and the cavalry, under General Alvarez, to charge their rear. Thus beaten on all sides, without hope of reinforcements, it was very probable that they would yield, although not without causing us a heavy loss. On the other hand, while a single defeat would be sufficient for the destruction of the American troops, ours might suffer several without deciding the fate of the contest.

Among the fortifications were some which did honor to their authors. The best was that of the old El Peñon, planned by the skilful officer of engineers, D. Manuel Robles, and which, from its being the first that the enemy must meet, on the direct road from Puebla to Mexico, was thought to be most exposed to their attacks. It defended the eastern side. On the southern line were those of Mexicalcingo, San Antonio, the convent, and bridge of Churubusco, some of them not yet completed. On the south-west rose the fortress of Chapultepec, where the works of art increase the natural defences, and whose artillery commands equally the road to the west and the road to the garita of San Cosme, fortified likewise with that of Santo Tomas. On the north were no advanced works, and all the defences were reduced to those of the garitas of Nonoalco, Vallejo, and Peralvillo.

The army of the North was in the villa of Guadalupe, and afterwards marched to Texcoco to possess themselves of that excellent position on the flank of the Americans.

Beyond this division and the cavalry of General Alvarez a respectable force existed under arms within the city and environs. This was composed in part of the regular troops, and in part of National Guards distributed severally in the following manner.

The brigade of General Terrés was formed of the 1st active battalion of Mexico, of that of the Lakes, and of the 2d Light

Infantry. That of General Martinez was the active of Morelia and the corps of invalids. That of General Rangel was the Grenadiers of the Guard, the Mixto de Santa Anna, the San Blas, the Nationals of Morelia, and the company of San Patricio. That of General Perez was the 1st, 3d, and 4th Light, and the 11th Infantry. That of General Leon was the active battalion of Oajaca, the 10th of the line, the active of Querétaro, the Nationals of the same, and the Mina of the National Guard of the District. That of General Anaya was the Independencia, Bravos, Victoria and Hidalgo. That of Colonel Zerecero was of various pickets of Aldama, Galeana, and Matamoros, the battalion of Acapulco, and parts of the battalions of Tlapa and Libertad. Other corps of the south were in San Angel and Coyoacan under General Andrade, and reporting directly to Señor Bravo, who commanded the whole line.

As chiefs of artillery officiated General Carrera, director of arms, Colonel Partearroyo, who was the commandante-general of the same in the army, Colonel Aguado, who commanded a battalion of foot artillery, and Colonel Iglesias, who was chief of that of the horse. The useful pieces for service were one hundred and four, and therefore what the enemy have said of the number of cannon which we possessed was false. This they did to extol the greater their victories. For the same purpose General Scott has represented in his published official reports, that the Mexican army counted 30,000 men, and that all fought in many battles in the valley of Mexico.

They who are well versed in the past events know that this assertion is entirely false, and on the contrary, there was not one action in which the Americans had not a superior force to the Mexicans. In Padierna, the army of the North alone was engaged, which was in strength less than 4000 men. In San Antonio, a very small section was the only one that checked General Worth while the other troops retired. In the convent of Churubusco, the defence was made by the battalions of Independencia and Bravos, reinforced by the company of San Patricio, and a few pickets of other corps.

In the bridge of Churubusco the resistance was not more than that of the brigade of General Perez. In the Molino del Rey, were only the brigades of Leon and Pereres, with a part of Rangel's lately formed under General Ramirez. In Chapultepec, eight hundred soldiers were all the force that General Bravo possessed on the top, and below there were about six hundred. In the garitas and the Citadel also, some isolated corps were in action and in small numbers.

General Mora y Villamil was director of engineers. The principal chiefs of the corps who became directors of works, were Generals Liceaga, Monterde, and D. Miguel Blanco, the Lieut.-Colonel Cano, and the two brothers Robles.

The hopes inspired by the forces mentioned arose less from their numbers than from their excellence. The army of the North which served to assist, was composed of the flower of the veterans of the Republic. Made familiar with danger in war, being for the most part on the frontier from the year 1836, strangers to the pleasures and comforts of life, they were habituated to all kinds of privations. Who could not therefore believe that they would co-operate most effectually for the destruction of the Americans! Among the troops that formed the army of the East, if a great part consisted of people selected promiscuously, still it possessed brigades that deserved just renown. Far above all others was that of General D. Francisco Perez, destined to act as a reserve, and which had corps of high reputation in public opinion. The chiefs and officers of both armies were in general brave men, although there was no scarcity of cowards and unskilful even in the highest positions, who fled from the fields of battle. These carried their debasement so far as to tear off the trappings which they owed to favoritism and servility, for the purpose of not being recognised.

The corps of the National Guard were not accustomed to fire, and the greater part of them went for the first time to confront death on the field of battle. But full of honor and sensibility, they gave the assurance that they would not turn their back to the enemy, if not from valor, at least from chivalry and shame. When the cannon gave the alarm that the hour of danger had come, they were seen to collect with pleasure at the posts that had been designated. From the pronunciamento of February, they had separated from their ranks those who had desired to take part in that outbreak, and after that the numbers in each corps had gradually diminished. But when the moment arrived to truly prove them, all the expelled returned to service, and many others appeared who had not before been drilled, and the battalions counted under their banners more soldiers than at any former period. There met the miserable lounger, the honored artisan, the commercial speculator, the charitable doctor, the laborious lawyer, and the retired officer. The rich and the poor were mingled together, the intelligent and the ignorant, the studious and the dissipated, forming an assembly in which were men of every opinion, of all parties, of all ages, and of all classes, united in a brotherly band of Mexicans.

The benedictions and the love of the whole city gave the anticipated reward to their patriotic exertions. And this was not an insult to the regular troops as some had maliciously insinuated. The valor of the soldiers of the army was appreciated, as was proper, but the National Guard was bound to the inhabitants with the strongest ties of friendship and kindred. Almost every family had among them a father, a lover, a brother, or a husband, and it was very natural that their demonstrations of interest should fall principally upon those who by so many titles possessed their consideration.

While the Americans remained in Puebla, the army of the East was under the orders of D. Manuel María Lombardini. But as the enemy approached the capital, the General President, D. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, assumed the command of all the forces. The thought then of the foreign war absorbed all minds, the enemies of this general were silent, no one plotted against the chief magistrate, and his directions were respected and obeyed, without any person venturing to thwart his orders, given to insure the most energetic defence against the invader.

The press, which in good faith was loud in favor of the war and against its abuses, saw its intimations stupidly interpreted, and an act of despotism destroyed its liberty, in violating the first rights of the citizen. The public editors who on similar occasions composed energetic protests in submitting to force, and raised the cry against the oppressor, were then most submissively silent, without advancing perhaps one complaint against an order taking away all security. The least indication of opposition they stigmatized as treason, the press was hushed, in declaring by way of vengeance that the laurel of victory would crown the brow of him who should choke himself with an ignominious gag.

On the evening of the 9th, the brigade of General Leon, which was the one destined to cover the fortifications of El Peñon, took up its march. Their way was covered with people; the corps kept step with the military music; their warlike appearance, their cheerfulness, and their enthusiasm filled all their hearts with delight. These brave men marched to combat as to a festival, like an invitation of friends. From them vivas to the army, to General Santa Anna, and to the Republic, were shouted. The universal harmony presaged prosperous days, in which the nation, independent and regenerated, would assume the place worthy of it on the continent of Columbus. The most frightful reality dissolved a few days after these flattering illusions.

CHAPTER XV.

EL PEÑON.

"Son estos los garzones delicados
Entre sedas y aromas arrullados ?"[*]
OLMEDO, CANTO A JUNIN.

HE who reads this chapter, for a narration of battles or of the interests of policy, who hopes to find his curiosity gratified, or the throbbing passions of that period explained, will be deceived. As we who write are Mexican, as well as the legends we compose, a tribute is due in this book to the most affectionate reminiscences of our country, and a page must be devoted to the feelings of the heart, instead of the affairs of the public. One scene in the drama of the private life of our people must be portrayed, which possesses for us the tenderness of home, however uninteresting to others, and which finds a responsive note deep within our souls.[†]

To some this may be an imprudent episode; perhaps superfluous.[‡] To others, however, it will be a relic of their affections, a consecration of their beloved memories, a noble effort from national feeling, of

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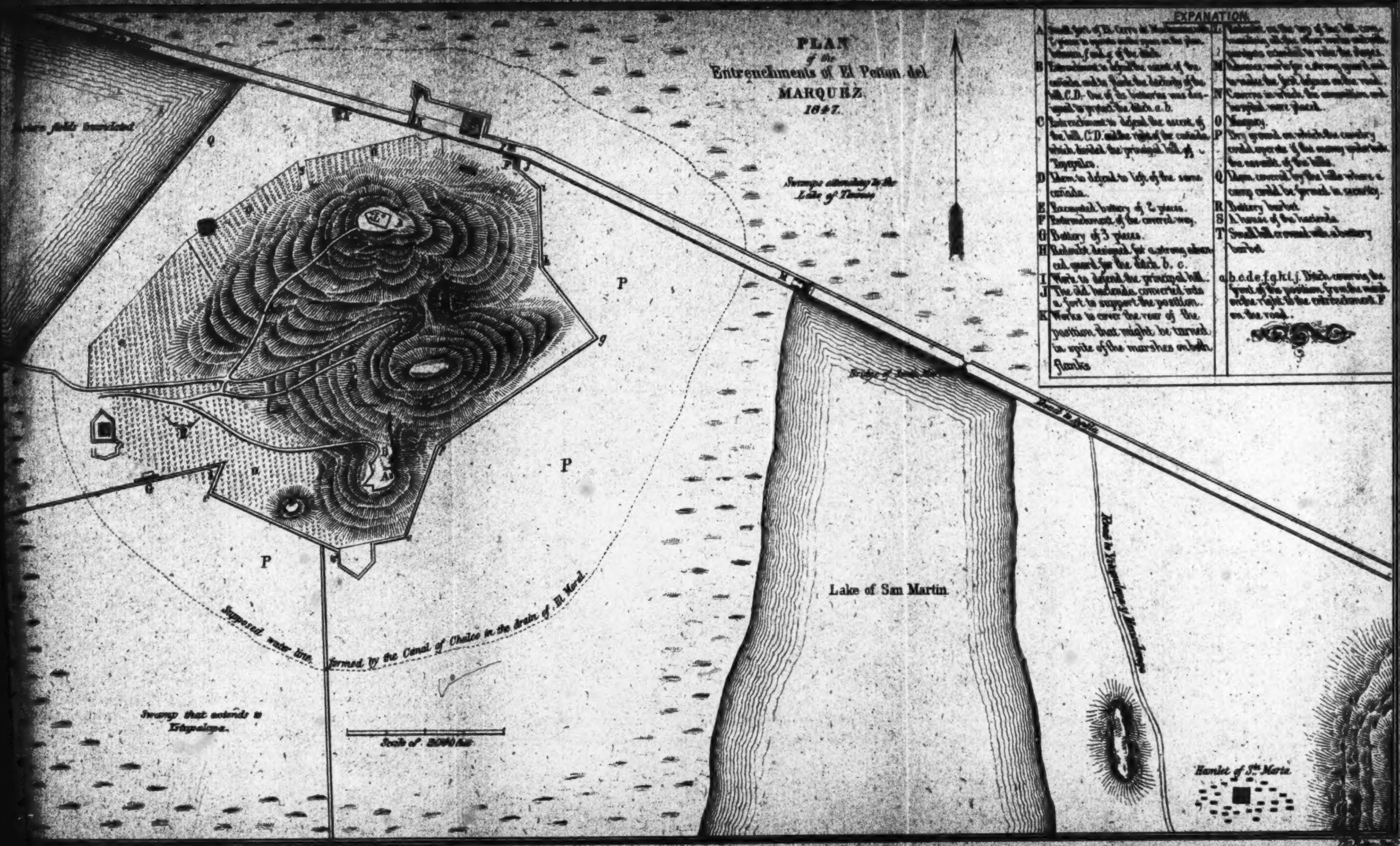
[*] Are these the effeminate boys,
'Mid lulling perfumes, silken joys ?—AM. ED.

[†] It is to be regretted that this passage loses much of its beauty in the translation. The text is intended to be an imitation of a Castilian poet, and however faithful the sense may be rendered, the pathos is lost.

The English classic scholar will perceive the resemblance, in this paragraph, to the opening stanza in the song of Medora, in the Corsair. Byron had studied the Spanish literature, and was neither insensible nor unmindful of its excellence.—AM. ED.

[‡] Tal vez un ripio. This phrase means a needless word, introduced in poetry to fill up the measure, without improving the sense.—AM. ED.


Swamps extending to the Lake of Texcoco
Lake of San Martin
Road to Puebla
Supposed water line formed by the Canal of Chalco in the drain of El Marqués
Swamp that extends to Iztapalapa
Hamlet of Sta Marta
Scale of 2000 feet
P
P
P
Q

PLAN
of the
Entrenchments of El Peñon del
MARQUEZ.
1847.

EXPANATION.

A	Small fort of El Cerro [illegible]	L	Redoubt on the top of the hill commanding all the other works [illegible]
B	Entrenchment to defend the ascent of the cañada and to flank the declivity of the hill C.D.- One of the batteries was designed to protect the ditch a. b.	M	[illegible] work for a strong guard and to [illegible] the road.
C	Entrenchment to defend the ascent of the hill C.D. and the right of the cañada which divided the principal hill of Tepeyilco.	N	Cover in which the ammunition and [illegible] were placed.
D	Them to defend the left of the same cañada.	O	[illegible]
E	[illegible] battery of 2 pieces.	P	Dry ground on which the cavalry could operate if the enemy should take the summit of the hills.
F	Entrenchment of the covered way.	Q	Plain covered by the hills where a camp could be formed in security.
G	Battery of 3 pieces.	R	Battery barbet.
H	Redoubt designed for a strong advanced guard for the ditch b. c.	S	A house of the hacienda.
I	Work to defend the principal hill.	T	Small hill crowned with a battery barbet.
J	The old hacienda converted into a fort to support the position.		
K	Works to cover the rear of the position that might be turned in spite of the marshes on both flanks	a.b.c.d.e.f.g.h.i.j.	Ditch covering the front of the position from the marsh on the right to the entrenchment F on the road.

these days, alas, too fleeting, in which we dreamed of vindicating our country and its glory.

Mexico was agitated and the rough bugle sound of war had interrupted her mournful silence. Converted into a vast citadel, all was commotion, all was borne down before the grand signal which precedes a great conflict of a people. The sentiments met with in the inhabitants seemed to universally prevail. At this time many families, trembling and in fear, fled as if from a burning city; dragoons and staff officers traversed the streets; the people met in groups at some places, and the soldiers of the National Guard were bending their steps to their quarters.

That illustrious institution, which in its inception presented a shameful spectacle, now shone with brilliancy. It was, as it ought to be, the noble personation of a people in movement. These nationals had received the day before an order to march to El Peñon. At first, undecided, they murmured at placing the best society in a point so perilous, where the price of a victory would be paid in the grief of the orphans of Mexico. For one moment the troops who constituted the corps of the guard were doubted. But they dissipated all these conjectures, their ranks speedily filled, and the citizens contended with zeal for places among them.

The day of the 10th was fixed for the march. The brigade of General Anaya departed for the scene of action. The grand plaza of Mexico was crowded with people; the balconies and azoteas* of the Palace were crowned with anxious citizens. The music of the 11th infantry filled the air with its inspiring martial sounds; a thousand vivas answered it, and the National Guard marched, bearing with them the good wishes of all.

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* An azotea is a roof; but that word conveys in English the idea of a slanting surface, to shed rain, and to serve as the top of a house. In Mexico an azotea is not only used for these but other purposes. It is sometimes filled with roses and flowers, shrubbery, and even fruit trees, on movable stands: it is flat, with the appearance of a slight declination, and durability of our side pavements, and made of the same brick material. A low parapet two or three feet high runs round all the sides. It is not, however, considered a part of the house where strangers would be invited any further than would be a back

The *Victoria*, composed of the young commercial men of Mexico; Victoria representing immense fortunes, with their rich uniforms, and with, even yet, their names, given to them by boyish comrades. The Hidalgo, formed of exempts, of ardent youths, and of old men that had passed their lives in sedentary occupations, and fathers of families, gifted with social distinctions, who had always been respected. The *Independencia* and the *Bravos*, drawn from the laboring artisans and mechanics, in their modest dress, with their proud aspect, identified with those good men who had served their country, now changed their family subsistence for the daily allowance of soldiers, and whose arms and equipments possessed a history of privations.

The brigade of Sr. Anaya entered the Palace: then twice displayed through the central streets of the city; and the ladies ran to the balconies at the sound of that musical strain which converted the Polka into a hymn of the Guard. The enthusiasm momentarily increased: the various emotions of grief, of tenderness, and of solicitude, became sensible, and the nationals, with courage and confidence

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yard or garret with us, both of which localities are not found in the city of the Aztecs; but, in fact, an azotea is a sort of substitute for them. There is an impression that this is sometimes used for a dormitory, but it is erroneous. A Mexican, in the valley, will never sleep *al fresco* if he can avoid it, nor even with a window open. The weather is not, at any season, warm enough to require a draught of air through a dwelling, although the Americans generally permitted a free circulation, very much to the astonishment of the natives. In truth, after dwelling for months in tents, the atmosphere of any house will be oppressive, and that, especially, of the capital, where there are no chimneys. It must be understood that the azotea of the Palace is on such an extensive scale, although similar, as to be a most fashionable stand or promenade.—Am. Ed.

in their appearance, took up their march for El Peñon, moving out by the garita of San Lazaro.*

The brigade of General Leon was posted previously in El Peñon, composed for the most part of national guards. But there were also some others from the assisting states who excited warm feelings of friendship.

We may approach for an instant while the troops make a short halt, to throw our eyes upon the plan which the superior skill of Sr. Robles displayed, and without which we could not form a correct idea of the position nor of its fortifications.

A simple view presented at the first glance but little of interest to the observer. From the road to the north, that is, to the left of the spectator, he beholds a portico with some small quarters; and to the right, rising from the plain, is an immense hill of volcanic lava crowned with three crests of capricious outline, and of an undulating form.† The whole shelter which this mountain presents are its damp caverns, and some canvas tents; the latter of mercantile history, favoring the delusion that they can give protection from storms. These are scattered: some to the west of the eminence, some upon its summit, and some to the south, in unequal clusters, and which whiten its rugged acclivity. At one place the tents are in regular rows; at another standing alone, indicating the recognised quarters of a high military chief; but they are sleeping places only; narrow, inconvenient boxes. Such are the comforts with which this inhospitable spot welcomes the national guard.

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* A garita is a post where a sentry is placed, or rather a house to protect the guard from the weather. It is an entrance of the city where the duties are collected, passports examined, &c. For this reason it is sometimes used as synonymous with a gate. But there are no gates to Mexico; nor are there walls, unless some low embankments lining the canals which approach and partially encircle the capital, can be called such. As there is a garita at the end of each causeway, one has always to be passed on entering or leaving the place.—Am. Ed.

† The text might convey the idea that the top is undulating. But it is not the meaning nor the fact. The sides or slopes are irregular, and undulating, which render the mountain beautiful, even in its sublimity.—Am. Ed.

We will enter into small matters, not only without interest but even tempting to ridicule. After the picture drawn of the incredible sufferings of the army of the North, the description of the march of the guards may be affectation. But in those days the appearance of elegant young men, of venerable age, the representatives of the people in the tribune, illustrious scholars, and the modest artisans drenched with rain, roasted by the sun, gasping for breath upon mats as though they were mummies; surrounding a dirty cooking shop, and wandering about with empty stomachs, filled only with delight, excited wonderfully. If all were known, it might be dramatised for the theatre, with those who were there turned into actors. But in those happy days their names sounded differently to our ears.

The brigade arriving at El Peñon, was quartered, as we have said, and the rain, which to our annoyance fell, made the first night in camp very disagreeable. On the 11th there was a review, and the battalion of Victoria was selected for the crest of the mountain for its defence.

We have already said that the upper part of the mountain terminated in three eminences, a short distance from each other, and to these we turn our attention. The highest is *Tepeapulco*, the forward and commanding point, and to the north: slightly bending with a gradual sweep, terminating in a level top, comes the height of *Morelos*: after this is seen to the south the peak called *Moctezuma*. The fortifications of these places are designated on the plan sufficiently distinctly, and it would be useless to describe them.

In the morning of this day, General Santa Anna came to El Peñon, accompanied with a brilliant escort and a numerous staff. They saluted him with the musical beats of honor and with enthusiastic vivas. The crowd collected at this time. They perceived the demand for the building of groceries, eating-houses, stores, and liquor shops, and at once a portable city sprang from the earth.

The cortège of carriages brought there innumerable families, and all was animation. The ditches at the sides of the road were converted into canals, where they brought in canoes furniture, war materials, park, armament, and curiosities of all kinds, and they made their way gliding easily along, by keeping time with favorite songs to the monotonous sounds of the oars.

General Santa Anna ascended to the top of the mountain. The day was lovely, and we can do no less than interrupt our description to exclaim, with the impassioned Hugo Foscôlo, "If we were painters, ah! if we were painters, the faithful drawing of this picture which we are realizing would make us immortal." Behold! Imagine the immense level prairie that surrounds El Peñon converted into an extensive lake, bathed in the splendid blue of heaven, and which the sun, reflecting on its crisping and ever changing waves, converts into a perpetual shower of diamonds. Imagine this immense mass of El Peñon floating voluptuously, which throws at this moment no shade, for it is surrounded with light; sailing round like an eagle rejoicing in storms, and the circle bounded on every side by the jutting hills, the leafy woods, the variegated and sprinkled tufts of verdure: and within the little populations of Mexicalcingo, as if supporting the slope of the gentle Ixtapalapa, the dreamy Chalco, on the margin of its silver lake, Tlalpam, rising among bowers which form her gardens of roses, at the base of the peaks of Ajusco, and San Angel, Miscoac, Coyoacan, and San Juanico, noted for their festivities among the groves of the plain. Farther to the west, the romantic and gloomy Chapultepec, encircled by the low hills of Tacubaya and Santa Fé. To the setting sun the poetic church of the Remedios, alone and sublime; and at its foot the cultivated fields and flower gardens, the mills, the haciendas, and the unnumbered hamlets strewed along between Atzcapozalco and Tacuba, intersected by the causeways and aqueducts which seem to bind them in chains to the earth. In the capital, in our own Mexico of palaces, the refined, the gay, which unfolds her loveliness amid the waves like the lascivious Venus of Greece. Our Mexico, our country, the maiden sleeping on her chaste bed of flowers before the impure arm of the invader, has embraced her as a wanton and proclaimed her dishonor as a triumph!

To the North, in the chain of mountains of Tepeyac, is the Sanctuary of Guadalupe: and eastward from this is seen Texcoco, diminutive and lost in the spray of the lake, beautiful as the swan of fable, hazy, and far distant like our illusions of infancy. In front of this, that is, to the East, with their splendid pageantry, crowned in perpetual clouds, suspended in the heavens, the Popocatepetl, and the Ixtacihuatl, decorate this magnificent picture, which we leave to the view of the spectator, too coarse and coldly drawn with a blunted pencil.

There in the centre of this scene, the National Guard that is, using an expression of Saavedra, the rose of gold and the cypress of silver of the population of Mexico, surrounded General Santa Anna. He directed the battalion of Victoria to the top of the mountain, calling to their mind sublime recollections of another age, and of the leader of our independence who gave his name to the battalion, and he also pointed out on the Tepespulco, the national banner, recently planted there, which spread its folds, shaken by the light breeze that moved it.

The encampment had the air of a festival. On the higher part of the mountain on the hill of Morelos were formed streets for sales, where were found viands and liquors, and fruits, and whatever could tempt the appetite or fancy. But it was not for this they had assumed the rugged life of soldiers. The place was commanded by General Rincon who guarded it, like an old grenadier of Napoleon, with the greatest solicitude. General Martinez also went the rounds without ceasing, and the enthusiastic Colonel Jorrin trained his subordinates in constant drills. The battalion of Hidalgo which had before occupied the Moctezuma, asked through their chief, for an advanced post of danger, in dividing with the other corps, its force in the night to protect it, and for the grand guard to which all contributed. On the lower side of the mountain interesting scenes were seen each moment. Now General Herrera came leaning on his cane to offer his venerable services to his country on the altar of concord. The General-in-chief received him kindly, for it was not partisans, but Mexicans alone who desired to make patriotic sacrifices. Many deputies enrolled themselves and shared the fatigues as aids.

All these things transpired on the days of the 11th, the 12th, and the subsequent; there was nothing but good feeling, fraternity and patriotism.

The presence of our most select society, by making popular, so to speak, the military camp, produced a good tone, giving to it the aspect of a convivial party and a festival in danger itself, and adorning even death with the illusions of the middle ages when valiant warriors fought in tournaments in presence of beauty, awaiting from her hand the laurel dear to the victor.

In the beginning General Herrera was named second-in-chief of the army, and he, supposing that General Santa Anna would forget party reminiscences, accepted the confidence. Señor Tornel also was appointed quarter-master, who in an order of the day, baptized the fortifications with pompous titles, dictating other measures which then, for such was the prevailing spirit, were not criticised.

In this confidence it was felt, that to conquer was certain. This indescribable and unreasonable belief, the precursor of a victory, and this sentiment diffused through all classes, made the hardships seem natural and proper.

Now General Santa Anna determined that he would clear to the front of the camp and therefore ordered to be demolished the village of Santa Marta, which was in a grove on the roadside to the east of El Peñon. At once its destruction was effected. The natives of the little population beheld all without a murmur, and bowed to this cruel fate, which left a small remnant of property to them after the loss of their homes.

Thus passed these happy hours, thus the appearance alone of the place infused strength into their hearts, thus the collection of power of the most ingenious social representation with every incentive of feeling and pride presented a singular picture full of animation and grandeur.

On the 12th a thick dust was noticed and the beat sounded of *the enemy in front*. Every bugle responded to this alarming call, the corps each moment drew up, and formed in line of battle. In fact many resolved to follow, who were without arms, to assist the killed and wounded. It was a solemn instant, from those who fell into the ranks, to the aids who hastened to arrange all for the strife. Satisfaction was visible among the soldiers, their impatience perceptible, some of our reconnoissances were practised, and made personally by General Santa Anna, which speaking even militarily ought not to have been done, but in popular opinion his boldness gained their good will, and he returned to camp amid a multitude of vivas.

The display of valor, of real chivalry, noble and dignified, elevates the soul and gives interest to insignificant actions.

Thus one day D. Juan Cervantes desiring to provoke the Americans, alone, and without any arms, except a lasso and his ardor, proceeded to a very rash distance, and returned amidst the applause and compliments of public approbation.*

The celebration of the mass on the top of the mountain, on Sunday the 15th, gained also in their affections, with the stilly and splendid pomp of such ceremonies in an encampment.

We have described already the beautiful sight of the mountain;

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* What rashness this was! If he had been met by the Americans his feelings might have been dreadfully hurt, for he would have been taken for a miserable mule or cattle driver, and tortured with a thousand questions. Not being very formidable with his rope he was safe against personal damage. It would certainly not have required much argument to make him out a non-combatant, and as such the Mexicans knew very well they were never molested.—Am. Ed.

and there, on the hill of Morelos, they raised an altar, clothing it with ornaments of gold and tissue. The National Guard assisted at the sacrifice: the tradesmen* were hushed: the canopy of the altar was the transparent sky: the light of this vast temple was our sublime sun. Our arms reverberated: the light wind touched but gently the perfumed hair of the troops, and caressed tenderly our national banner, the standard of Iguala.

The sacred host was elevated, and then might be perceived the murmur of fervent prayer of the believing soldier and the poor man-destroying instrument yielding to the Holy God, the God of battles, and the warlike drum sounded that march slow and solemn, with which the soldier salutes the God of the Christians. At this instant the enemy appeared in front, and the generala mixed its notes with the march: but not one word, not one movement, interrupted the religious act.

We have said already that these scenes are in historical interest only secondary, but now we would beg we may not be censured. For all men and every people have preserved a memorial for future time, and we will endeavor to perpetuate these, so that our misfortunes may not efface them, so that we may guard them in our memory, O affliction! as Greece, after her frightful degradation, preserved the tombs of her heroes and the verses of Homer.

Thus these happy hours have passed. The testimonials of regard were universal and constant. The thanks of the Ayuntamiento, religious communities, and of various individuals, were made known. All these honorable young men did not hesitate, when encouraged by the public approbation, and assured previously of domestic affection. A laurel was wanted, either to place it upon their grave, or to bear it aloft proudly upon their brow.

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* One of the most striking customs of the Mexicans is to be found in their markets on Sunday. In the cities these are near to the cathedrals or churches in the main plaza. In the midst of their dealing and jewing, a little bell attached to the outside of the church is heard, and at once all are uncovered and on their knees, bowing down to the earth, hushed in humiliation and prayer. It indicates the elevation of the host. In a minute or two the little bell is rung again, and the whole multitude of some thousand men and women, rise to their feet and renew their traffic, as though they had a better will for money-making.—AM. ED.

The movements of the enemy left no doubt, on the days of the 16th and 17th, that they were about changing their course, and had taken a large part of their forces to the south-west. It would be a ridiculous supposition, but the movement of the enemy, in frustrating the action at this place, on which we had relied with confidence, and which the mind pronounced inaccessible, produced an extremely unfavorable effect. In the night of the 17th, the brigade of Sr. Anaya was ordered to leave early next morning. The announcement dispersed the crowd. General Santa Anna departed, and had real humiliation, real disenchantment, in returning to the city without having engaged. El Peñon remained guarded by the brigade of General Leon, with General Herrera chief of the post. The return to the city on the 18th was mournful: many families had departed; the doors and balconies were closed; and the echo was heard at a great distance of the tramp of the soldiers. The sight alone of the deserted city inspired sorrow and a shudder. It resembled beauty without life, and the naked bones of a skull where lovely eyes had sparkled.

Sr. Anaya took the head of his brigade, which he ordered to rest in the Palace for a short time, so that it might continue its march.

In a moment, the families of the individuals of the Guards blocked up the gates of the Palace, and penetrated within. Now the matron is seen crossing the pavement in her silk dress, now the aged father of a family, with eyes filled with tears, now an affectionate wife, with the children of her love, now the beauty, making common her satin, her jewels, and her ornaments of taste: grief levelled all classes, and scenes were multiplied, which could not be contemplated without weeping.

At one place might be noticed the boyish recruit kneeling, excited and tremulous with emotion, receiving with humble countenance the benediction of some dear mother. In another, at the base of a column of the quadrangle, a lady with dishevelled hair, with distracted looks, clinging to her husband, presenting to him his children, who stood by, confused and in wonder, pleased with the strange trappings upon the author of their being.

Parents, and kindred, and friends, called loudly for those dear to them, as if their existence were endangered, as if all coveted the last looks, the last expressions, of those who went perhaps to perish.

The repetition of these appeals excited still more these friends: brother locked arms with brother: the wife followed the forming and the march, at the side of her consort: the mother sobbed and watched, requested and prayed her son to be careful: the blushing maiden suffocating with emotion, feigned calmness and smiled, but the flood of tears which watered her cheeks betrayed her. Once more the cruel drum interrupted these scenes: the Guards marched: and then the families, in the height of misery, without heeding anything, without seeing anything, in confused haste ran through the streets at the side of the troops, and the names of mother, brother, friend, and the benedictions and prayers were confounded with the deafening noise of the march, and the monotonous sounds of the military bands.

Why had the aspect of Mexico changed so quickly? Why did the beautiful wait in tribulation for what these days brought forth? Why was felt the gloomy presentiment which fright was weaving in their hearts? Mexico remained as still as some great edifice of the dead. The unfortunate families, who had contributed all the treasure of their souls to the grand sacrifice of country, returned to wash with their tears the lint and bandages which they gave to the hospital, thinking in grief of some father, some husband, or some lover.

The brigade of Sr. Anaya was posted at Churubusco. On the next day, the 19th, the battalions of Victoria and Hidalgo were ordered to advance to San Antonio, a point, according to the General-in-chief, most closely threatened.

GENERAL VALENCIA

Ackermann's Lith. 120 Fulton St N.Y.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ARMY OF THE NORTH—ITS MARCH TO MEXICO—STATIONED IN GUADALUPE HIDALGO—ITS TRANSIT TO SAN ANGEL.

It is known that after our memorable although lamentable retreat from the Angostura, our army was divided into two sections; one of which was sent to Cerro-Gordo, and the other remained in San Luis, under the orders of General Mora y Villamil. A few months later in June, 1847, he transferred the command to the general of division, D. Gabriel Valencia.

The unfortunate results of Cerro-Gordo, and the full confidence entertained of its being impossible for General Taylor to penetrate into the interior of the Republic, decided the government to order the division of the north to march to the capital of Mexico. This was to be next invaded by the American troops commanded by General Scott, now holding the beautiful city of Puebla.

On the days of the 9th, 10th, and 11th of July, this patient army, which then counted something more than 4,000 men, evacuated the city of San Luis. If they rested after their toilsome fatigues of the war, they were not sufficiently refreshed, since still their sickly and lean veterans were numerous, and almost naked. These were the unhappy remains of the unfortunate days of Palo Alto, Resaca, and Monterey, and that of the no less sanguinary Angostura; stoic soldiers now habituated to privations, and taught to despise dangers.

The march to the capital of the Republic was rapid, and inspired positive delight in the army, since the majority of the men of which it was composed, there had their household gods, as the warriors of ancient Greece would have said.*

Before proceeding further, let us see the order in which the army marched.

The first division, denominated the vanguard, under the orders of General Mejía, was formed of infantry regiments, the Fijo of Mexico, the active of San Luis Potosi, and the 7th cavalry, and that of San Luis Potosi.

The second division, or the centre, commanded by General Parrodi, was composed of the 10th and 12th infantry of actives, the Guarda Costa of Tampico, Querétaro, Celaya, and Guanajuato, and the auxiliaries of Celaya.

The third division, or the reserve, was placed under General Salas, who, although second-in-chief, had requested this command. It consisted of the regiment of engineers, the mixed battalion of Santa Anna, the active of Aguas Calientes, and the 2nd, 3rd, 8th, and Guanajuato cavalry regiments, and seven light pieces of artillery.

It ought to be mentioned that this last arm for the most part did not leave San Luis for some days after the other portion of the army, from the want of draft mules, indispensable to effect a march of 100 leagues. But all the army united in Cuautitlan, to enter the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was done on the 26th of that month.

On the occasion when the news was spread that the American troops had now marched out from Puebla upon Mexico, ours received it with positive pleasure. In their ardor of enthusiasm, they wished to give some example of their valor, and to avenge in the beautiful city of the Republic the blood shed in defence of it on the fields of the North. But, tremendous fatality, this enthusiasm, this army was to meet their end on the rugged hills of Contreras. * * * * *

The information of this invasion of the capital was not then confirmed, and the veterans encamped in Guadalupe manifested an astonishment similar to what an ardent youth would express on seeing frustrated his hopes of glory and the future.

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* "Tenian alli sus penates como habrian dicho los guerreros de la antigua Grecia."

On the 27th the General-in-chief, accompanied by some field adjutants, passed to the National Palace of Mexico, where the President of the Republic received him with cordiality. They spoke of the danger to the country, and of the necessity for its salvation at any price. Valencia portrayed the destitution of the army, and it was resolved to immediately send the clothing which was wanted, so that the troops might appear at least clad, since they could not be alike in uniforms. In this manner the government testified the greatest deference to attend to what was possible for the army, worthy, certainly, of the highest consideration.

Notwithstanding, in discussing the operations of the campaign, there existed a notable difference between the President and General-in-chief, a fatal prelude of the subsequent unfortunate events.

General Santa Anna supported, as it is said, by the lessons of experience, thought that the war should be only defensive, for which it was desirable to make entrenchments in the environs to the north of the capital, which was the part then the weakest. General Valencia trusting to the valor and decision of his soldiers and alleging that they were sufficiently well accustomed to war, thought with his characteristic impetuosity that they should meet the enemy on their way from Puebla to Mexico and give them a field battle, which would favorably change the question. This opposite mode of reasoning occasioned some conferences between these chiefs, that resulted in Valencia having to submit to the views of the government.

Consequently, he was ordered to fortify Zacualco, a locality at a short distance from Guadalupe, and the mountain of Guerrero, in the vicinity of that city. They practised various reconnoissances, especially by the roads of Texcoco, San Christóbal and the mountain called the Chiquihuiti, which along with those that had been made upon Zumpango, Teposotlan and their suburbs, afforded a knowledge of this ground. These were to bring to a favorable issue a plan of operations in the event that the enemy should approach the capital, as was apprehended, by the road known by the name of Piedras-negras. However the army took quarters in the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, where they remained occupied constantly in exercises and military duties.

The 8th of August arrived, the day designated by the President of the Republic on which he was to review these troops. These might be seen formed in the order of parade; all the soldiers, even to the most simple, to speak properly, poorly dressed, but their martial bearing, their discipline, their skill in the manuel of arms, and their sun-burnt countenances revealed at once that they were the oldest veterans and the warrior defenders of the country.

General Valencia, accompanied by his staff, went forward to the causeway of Peralvillo, where he received the supreme chief of the nation, who presented himself with a brilliant escort, whose richness and splendor formed a strange contrast to the modesty of the veterans of the North.

In the collegiate church of Neustra Señora de Guadalupe a solemn Mass was sung: then both Generals passed along the line, the military bands and salvos of artillery sounded through the air, and cheerfulness and enthusiasm were seen depicted on every face in the army. General Santa Anna caused to be read a proclamation, in which he excited more and more their enthusiasm, and then spoke in these terms, in truth no little flattering.

"Friends and companions in arms! Great is the pleasure which pervades my bosom, to see once more the brave men of the Angostura. The enemy, intent on sustaining the vilest of all aggressions, menace the lovely capital of the Republic, and we return to unite ourselves to defend and to save it, and to terminate with glory the contest. The same noble pride is perceived in your countenance which you presented on that memorable day, and it is observed that you retain the strict discipline which you acquired in the long school of the frontier of the North, where your prowess and your names will never be forgotten.

"Soldiers! Here, as well as there, fight the advancing invader, and if the decrees of Providence shall finally be to us propitious, we will complete a triumph, which will give life to the country and maintain its high rank, well merited, and it shall be the admiration of the world. The day for the great combat is at hand. The worthy and gallant General Valencia, and the same valiant chiefs who pointed out to you, in the North, the road to honor, amid dangers and privations, will now lead you on to battle and to victory. In exchange for your sacrifices a name awaits you that will never die, the applause and benedictions of your countrymen, and the eternal gratitude of your old general."

Loud acclamations in praise of Generals Santa Anna and Valencia arose. The delight is indescribable which animated all. It was gratifying to witness the harmony that at this time appeared to reign between both leaders. Holy God! wherefore didst thou permit the torch of discord to be lighted between these two men, on whom the country's salvation depended? Why were not destroyed the feelings of envy and ambition; and they preferring the most sacred rights of the nation to their ruinous passions?

The President returned to the Capital, leaving the army to the most pleasant anticipations.

In the same night General Valencia received a courier from Puebla. His secret agent informed him that the enemy were advancing upon the capital. Still later this information was confirmed, upon which the President invited the General-in-chief to a conference, who went to Mexico on the morning of the 9th. In the interview of that day, as in the former counsels, it was determined that the army of the North should march to the city of Texcoco, to the N. E. of Mexico, where they should take up their quarters, and harass the right flank and rear of the enemy. It was understood always that El Peñon would be the point of attack, and that General Alvarez, with the division of cavalry, was to fight the enemy in their march. In case the army of the North were attacked directly in their position of Texcoco, they should fall back to the entrenchments of Guadalupe, a post where the employment of arms could not be undertaken without being prejudicial to us.

It is not the intention of this article to explain all the measures for the defence of the capital; that which is mentioned will be sufficient to make known at this time the mission of the army of which we treat. Early on the morning of the 10th the march was begun to Texcoco, the army preserving the same organization as before, and distributing the 22 pieces which constituted the artillery, in the following manner. To the division of the vanguard were 4 howitzers and 3 pieces of 12-pounders; to the centre 2 howitzers and 6 pieces of 8-pounders, and to the reserve 7 light pieces. In spite of the rigid discipline of this army some losses from various causes had occurred in the ranks; insomuch that the total amount was 3,700 men, of all arms, divided in this manner. To the first division 700 infantry and 400 horsemen; to the second 1500 infantry; to the third 800 infantry and 600 horsemen. To all these were given the necessary artillery, well provided with trains and munitions.*

In consequence, upon the plan of operations being changed, General Valencia directed that General D. Miguel Blanco and the Engineer Officers should pursue the works of the fortifications in Zacualco, and finish them as soon as possible.

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* It has been already regretted that there were not more data in detail, so that the real force could be ascertained. In the above the total strength is represented at 3,700, while the numbers in the divisions show it to be 4000 exclusive of the artillery battalions. The calculation, however, can be made how many men would be required for the 6 howitzers and 16 pieces, and also the number of officers for these 4,000 men. The aggregate would be about 4,500.—Am. Ed.

On the 10th, already mentioned, the army passed the night in the Tepespa, and in the Hacienda Grande. On the 11th, at 2 o'clock in the day, the cavalry came to Texcoco and took quarters. The infantry remained in the Haciendas, Chica and Grande, to the morning of the 12th, and then marched for the same city. A large guard was appointed, which, posted in the hacienda of Chapingo, watched the apertures of the Puebla road. It was provided, moreover, in the orders of the day, that the corps should be always prepared to march, and for which they should remain in their quarters. The mules were harnessed, and the horses tied. All was on the movement in this army.

The section of topography made the necessary reconnoissances to the mountains of Chimalhuacan, and from thence to the foot of the mountain to the mill of Flores, a picturesque spot in this region. The General-in-chief caused all the approaches of the carriage road from Puebla to be covered to head-quarters; in order that the army, vigilant and observing, only waited for the Americans to take the initiative by attacking El Peñon, to fall on their right flank and rear.

General Alvarez, on the 13th, came to the vicinity of Texcoco with the cavalry of his command. He had an interview with the General-in-chief on the 14th, and when both practised a reconnoissance, they perceived some reports like cannon firing in the direction of Ixtapalapa. Believing then that the enemy were about to attack El Peñon, General Valencia, as quick as a flash of lightning, placed the army in march. It seemed that the solemn moment of battle had arrived. Delight was depicted on all their countenances, and the soldiers, full of enthusiasm, contended with the vanguard to come up first to the enemy. Those veterans, who so often had fought with the enemy, were revived, and said, with a certain noble hauteur, "this is the day of victory."

The rejoicing was universal, and the cry of "Viva la Republica" resounded throughout the city. The inhabitants prayed for the army, admired it, and it seemed as though the ancient Lady of the

Lake recovered her past splendor on seeing amidst her edifices and ruins more than three thousand combatants, determined to sustain the most sacred cause of our independence, and of liberty.

General Valencia, at the head of the cavalry, advanced to the mountain of Chimalhuacan, while the infantry and artillery, at whose head was seen General Salas, only reached the hacienda of Chapingo. This happened from the circumstance that a Field-Adjutant of the General-in-chief communicated the order not to pass further, since no attack at this time was to take place.

On the next day it was supposed that the enemy, without attacking the point of El Peñon, would move to Chalco to proceed from thence to Tlalpam.

Notwithstanding, some forces under the orders of General Twiggs remained in Ayotla; upon perceiving which General Alvarez ordered up the cavalry which he commanded near that place, to commence fighting when they should march to form a junction with the body of the invading army. This was done after two o'clock on the day of the 15th, and at dawn on the next, General Alvarez was on the rear-guard of the enemy, who discharged a few cannon without any result.

At this time the army of the North changed also their position; it being ordered that all their cavalry, under General Torrejon, should advance to Ayotla, to fix the attention of the enemy, while the infantry and artillery would return to their first position in Guadalupe.

It was at two in the day when the army marched: no one knew with certainty where he was going, nor the point which was to be occupied.

At four in the evening, filing out in front of the little village of Tepespa, the sky began to be overcast: thick and heavy rain clouds obscured the horizon, and the water fell in torrents. The road became impassable: the wagons and artillery were swamped in the marsh, and it was requisite to pull them out at every step, with great efforts on the part of the soldiers. Thus the infantry and artillery reached only the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo at three in the morning. One hour after the cavalry returned, having withdrawn from the vicinity of Ayotla.

At five on the morning of the 17th, the army undertook a new march, not halting for one instant, and traversing, without a murmur, the streets of the beautiful capital of Mexico. Perhaps the greater part of these men, whose lives were uncertain, had there the objects the most dear to their hearts. Perhaps they saw themselves deprived of bidding them their last farewell.

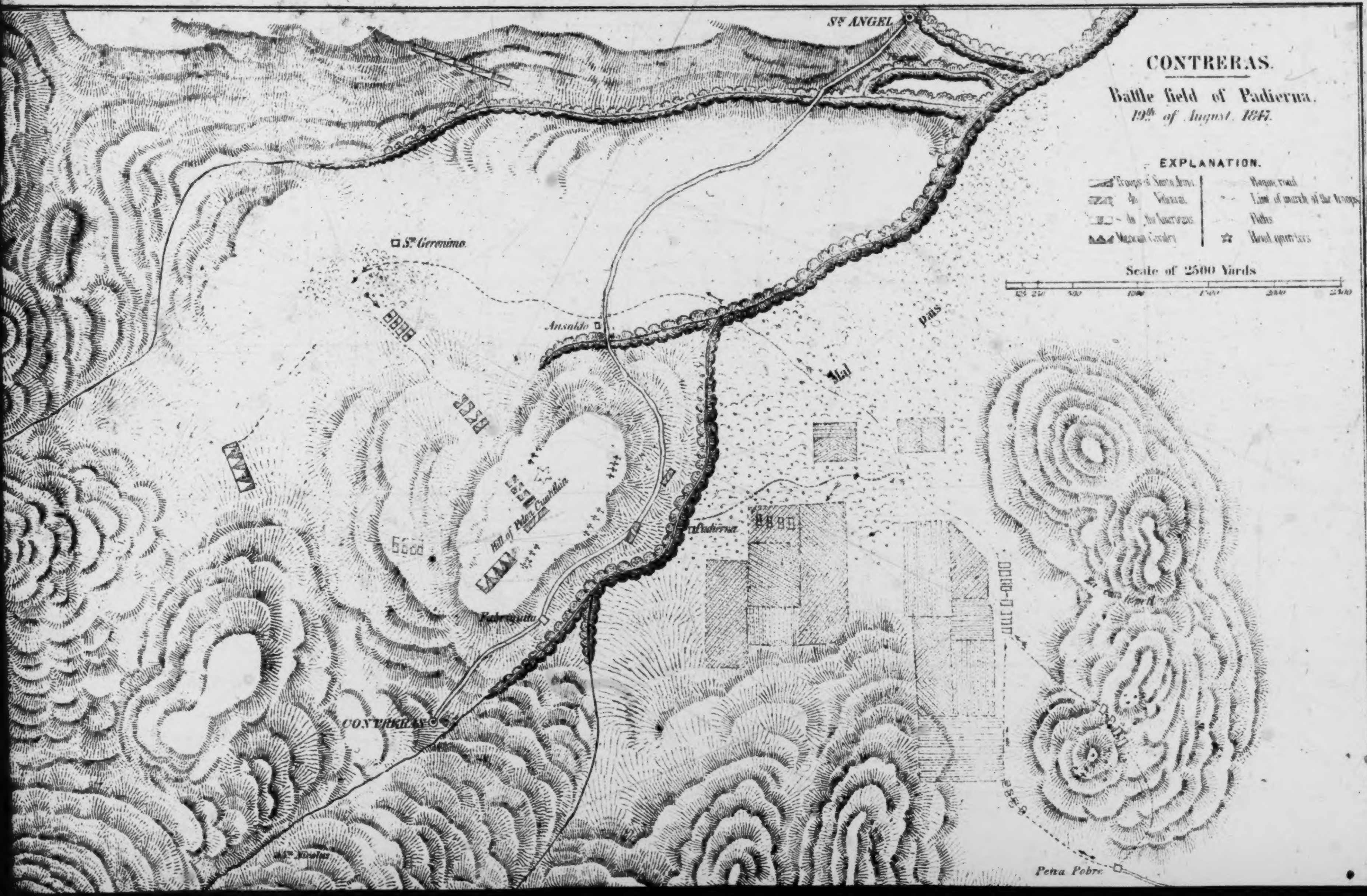
It was at eleven on the next morning when the soldiers of the North arrived with the presentiment of glorious future at the town of San Angel. * * * * The subsequent events will be mentioned in the following chapters.

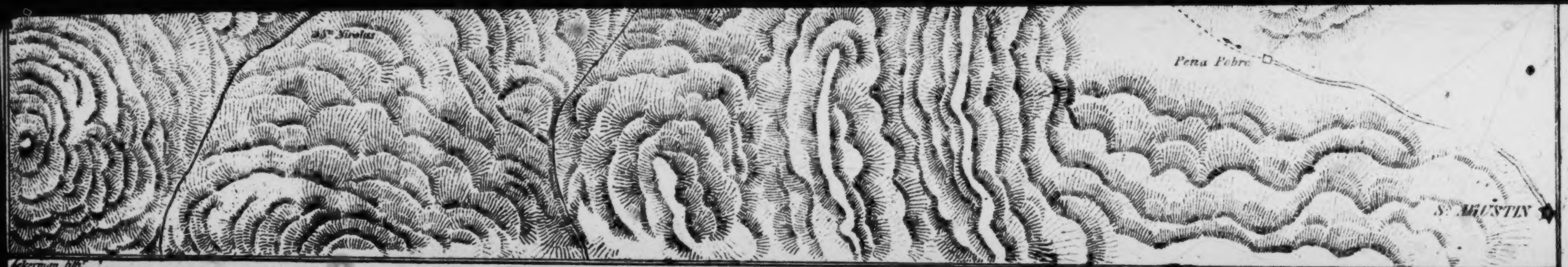
CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF PADIERNA—CONTRERAS.

In a south-west direction from the flourishing town of San Angel, distant some three leagues from Mexico, there is a wagon road, wide and commodious, passing the cloth factory of the Magdalena and the *town of Contreras.* At the beginning of this road, on its left, a path separates leading to the little village of Tizapan, covered with fruit trees, and on its sides is Mal-Pais. To the right, in various directions, are mule tracks following to some country possessions, among which is the mill of the Olviar, belonging to the Carmelites. Still more to the west, that is, fronting the rancho of Anzaldo, is seen in a little grove the white tower of the hamlet of the Indians, called San Geronimo, surrounded with low hill-tops, and irregular and fanciful barrancas. These, forsaking foot-paths and small level spaces, extend to the slope of the mountains to the south-west of the road which winds through briers and inconvenient alleys to the highway of Cuarnavaca.

At less than one league from San Angel is Anzaldo, a square edifice, not very high nor extensive, whose garden touches the road on the right. Ascending this is perceived to the south-east, a small elevated hill which the natives call Pelon Cuauhtitla, forming a high point between the road to the Magdalena, and the path that ends at the foot of the hills. It sinks into the pedrigal, bending its course eastward, and bearing to the Peña Pobre, a hacienda on the margins of Tlalpam. This new mule track is made in the volcanic lava of the pedrigal which, scattered in unequal clusters, renders a passage over it difficult. To the south of this various mountains restrain it, which are

CONTRERAS.
Battle field of Padierna.
19th of August. 1847.
EXPLANATION.
Troops of Santa Anna
do Valencia
do the Americans
Mexican Cavalry
Waggon road
Line of march of the troops
Paths
Head quarters
Scale of 2500 Yards
125
250
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
Sn Angel
Sn Geronimo
Ansaldo
Mal Pais
Hill of Pelon Cuantlan
Padierna
Fabrequita
Contreras
Sn Nicolas
Pena Pobre



Ackerman lith.

[illegible]

connected to the Cuarnavaca road, the principal of them overtopping is that of Zacatapec. The very roughest of the pedrigal extends to the north which uncovers intervals among low shrubs and wild vines, where for the most part the natives of these places are accustomed to pass over, glide through, or slip down. Upon this pedrigal near to a little valley which forms the water-course for the Magdalena, at the foot of the hills of Pelon Cuauhtitla, is built the rancho of Padierna with its humble dwellings of adobe, and the most of these with roofs of tile. Around this square are cultivated fields, and from distance to distance are observed haciendas, factories, mansions of industry and of labor, embellished with a smiling vegetation, and our splendid and magnificent sky.

These are the places in which on the days of the 19th and 20th of August of this year, the army of the North fought under the Señor General D. Gubriel Valencia, a battle known by the name of Padierna, and which we propose to describe in this article.

We have already made known this illustrious army, the force of which it was composed, its rapid and painful march from Texcoco to Guadalupe, its transit through Mexico, and its going cheerfully to the town of San Angel on the 17th of August, 1847.

General Valencia by anticipating in a coach arrived at San Angel at twelve in the day, accompanied by some of his adjutants. He drew up in the plaza to mount his horse, and immediately commenced a reconnoissance of the road which we have described, taking the direction of the Peña Pobre, a place where he expected the Americans. He examined the points himself which appeared the most practicable, making proper inquiries as to the possibility of bringing artillery. Being pleased with this position he determined to place some batteries here and in the centre of his camp, and in the hills of Pelon Cuauhtitla, recommending a scientific reconnoissance to the topographical officers Cadena and Segura, along with General Gonzalez de Mendoza, D. José Maria, a person of known skill.

In the meanwhile, the troops were conveniently quartered, and the hospitable inhabitants of San Angel lavished upon them their small supplies. They opened their houses to the officers, and the ladies made lint and bandages, to comfort the veterans of the North, whose reminiscences of heroism and suffering had everywhere gone before and excited universal sympathy.

When practising the examination upon the road from Padierna to the Peña Pobre, General Valencia learned from D. Antonio del Rio, Prefect of Tlalpam, of the entrance of the Americans into that city and of their direction to the Peña Pobre. However, he continued the examination of the ground, correcting his impressions, banishing his doubts, and confirming his hopes in the selection.

General Valencia returned to San Angel, and conferred with his scientific officers. They had traced an outline of the locality, pointing out as very dangerous some paths upon which the General had not fixed his attention. But he persisted, in opposition to some dissenting opinions, in believing the place chosen to be advantageous and safe, while a deceitful presentiment of victory pervaded the troops and diffused content through the population.

In the night, D. Augustin Reina presented himself to Sr. Valencia, soliciting arms for some members of the National Guard of this town, who, knowing the ground, could aid in watching the unfrequented paths of the pedregal. In an instant a small guerrilia was improvised, commanded by Reina himself, which he placed the same night on the left side of the road of Padierna and the Peña Pobre.

Everything till then presaged a triumph. General Valencia, if he entertained ambitious views, if he concealed in his bosom some other sentiment than that of glory and patriotism, only manifested in his character, naturally open and impetuous, deference to General Santa Anna, and faith in his good intentions. He remarked to those around him, that his division was auxiliary, that the Americans certainly would attack San Antonio, and then he moving by the rear of the enemy, assisted by General Perez, whose brigade was in Chimalistaca and Coyoacan, there would be no doubt of the victory.

But if on the contrary he were attacked, then General Santa Anna would give them battle at Tlalpam, with General Perez covering his rear, who held an excellent position.

Being satisfied, he described, with the energetic eloquence of his convictions, his camp as the key of Mexico, and as the points where the Americans would be checked; who cutting through the hills of Tacubaya, could turn the fortifications of San Antonio, carry Chapultepec, and in an instant take the capital. Thus spoke Valencia, and as it is not for this book to explain whether his opinions were reasonable we shall abstain from all observations.

On the morning of the 18th, Valencia sent the sappers, under the direction of General Blanco, to construct on the hill of Pelon Cuauhtitla the batteries, one of which only was raised, and placing in it 5 pieces. There was a light skirmish between Reina and the Americans who approached to examine the ground.

General Tornel, the quartermaster, was directed to make a reconnoissance of what was occurring at the Saint, and to put that division in communication with Santa Anna's in San Antonio.*

Insignificant circumstances that accompanied these acts, spread insensibly in the darkness of silence a certain secret distrust, which afterwards, shamefully and mournfully for the country, burst forth.

Valencia entertained in his plans and in the position of his camp, his fears and his hopes. He directed General Mejía with his brigade to take post at the batteries, which was done, and who remained there on the night of the 18th. Santa Anna disapproved of the dispositions of Valencia, and ordered him to withdraw to Coyoacan and Churubusco. This order elicited observations from Valencia, who it is not supposed could conceal the deep sensation which it caused him, in being frustrated in his plans, and certain recollections of *Tula de Tamaulipas* revived in his mind. The disobedience of General Valencia formed afterwards his indictment: but it is necessary, in obedience to truth, to notice that notwithstanding the observation, he was disposed to comply with the command if General Santa Anna persisted in the order; and in this opinion General Salas left him at twelve o'clock on the night of the 18th.

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* The Saint in the text refers to San Angel. This is a place where one of the great feasts is held each year. Days are devoted to gambling, cock-fighting, drinking, and other amusements *in honor* of the Saint.—Am. Ed.

Communications had passed from San Angel, to the night of this day, with General Santa Anna, which are alluded to in a paragraph above. An officer, General Mendoza, to whom the reconnoissance was referred, with two of the topographers, said that the point examined was absolutely indefensible, and that it was believed best to retire for reasons which he expressed in his note.

General Santa Anna, although coinciding with this, ordered him to remain in that post, taking measures in case the enemy advanced to fall back to Tacubaya.

On the 18th, General Santa Anna ordered Valencia, that early in the next day he should march with his forces to Coyoacan, and send forward his artillery to Churubusco. This disposition arose from the opinion he had that on the 19th the enemy would attack the fortification of San Antonio.

In answer to him, General Valencia, notwithstanding what he had expressed in his first note, was inconsistent by refusing to abandon the point which before had been pronounced indefensible.

General Santa Anna, then, not opposing further than to note the discrepancy between the first and second communications of General Valencia, agreed that he should remain in the position occupied, and only declaring, as he said afterwards, that he would leave Valencia to act on his own responsibility.

With these antecedents, General Valencia made his dispositions for the subsequent day.

On the 19th, inspiriting music broke forth, along with enthusiastic vivas; and the sound of trumpets resounding, he put under march, with the pomp of a triumph, the main body of the army. Solemn moment! It was beautiful to see, floating to the breeze, the banners, consecrated by the enemy's lead in the battles. It would be touching to record with the name alone of each corps, their sufferings in the desert, and their ardor in action. The bands were heard mingled with the neighing of the horses: the port fire of the cannon was burning: the arms glistened in the rays of the rising sun; and a crowd of friends and brothers, with their eyes full of tears of interest, collected to bless the stout veterans, who carried with them their good wishes.

General Valencia surveyed the ranks with a prodigious rapidity: he attended to all, animated his soldiers, and captivated their feelings with his martial bearing.

When leaving San Angel, he sent Colonel Barreiro to Zacatepec, to observe and to apprise him of the movements of the enemy.

We shall now give an idea of the order in which the troops were stationed at the commencement of the battle. In the rancho of Padierna, with an advance of cavalry of the 7th and another of infantry, commanded by Captain Solis, was the 1st of the line, under the orders of D. Nicolas Mendoza, in the rugged pedrigal which we have described, fronting the hill of Pelon Cuauhtitla. To the left was the corps of San Luis Potosi, and to the right were the auxiliaries and actives of Celaya, Guanjuato, and Querétaro, who composed the brigade commanded by Lieut.-Col. Cabrera. At the place where the batteries were situated were General Mejía and the staff of Valencia. Forming the second line were the battalions 10th and 12th, Fijo of Mexico, and the Guarda Costa of Tampico. The reserve was placed in Anzaldo, held by General Salas, who commanded the sappers, the Mixto de Santa Anna and Aguascalientes, and part of the cavalry, consisting of the 2d, 3d, and 8th of the line, and the active of Guanajuato: and supporting the right were the regiments, the 7th and the San Luis.

Between twelve and one of the day, Colonel Barreiro presented himself, saying, that the Americans were crossing the mountain of Zacatepec.

In fact, the enemy, leaving the Peña Pobre, divided into two principal columns: one ascended the mountain of Zacatepec, and, describing a curve in the march, descended the slope of the same, and, uniting with the other, advanced to the front, and threatened the forces named in the rancho of Padierna. The bugle sounded, "the enemy to the right," and the first cannonade was discharged upon a section of Zacatepec.

Immediately General Valencia ordered the reserve to be brought up from Anzaldo, and posted it near the batteries, leaving that point uncovered. The cavalry also advanced, commanded by Torrejon, and was placed between the hill and Anzaldo. This movement was executed in such order and concert as to be the admiration of every one.

In the meanwhile there were some discharges of cannon between San Antonio and Coapa. It was believed that the enemy would attack in distinct places: wherefore General Valencia, in pursuance of his first plan, had his mules harnessed and all ready to go to the succor of San Antonio, if it were requisite.

The action commenced between two and three in the evening. All the heights were filled with spectators. It was an imposing and sublime picture offered to the gaze of all.

The advance, commanded by Captain Solis, evinced extraordinary efforts of valor. Our artillery protected the defence, and the forces of Padierna fulminated their firing, commanded by General D. Nicholas Mendoza, whose presence was never wanting at the point of the greatest danger. Then the enemy made a vigorous rush, the burst of their savage hurras was heard, and they took the point of Padierna. At this time General Parrodi left the field, being wounded while in the vicinity of our batteries. The retreat of Mendoza was in good order. Before taking Padierna, the Americans divided into fractions, one attacking the point, and the other, embossed by the pedrigal, threatened our left flank. The fire of the artillery did not cease: the enemy also generalized theirs, playing their pieces with celerity, and repeatedly their Congreve rockets. The voice of General Valencia was heard everywhere animating the corps, who fought with uncovered breast. All performed to the full their duty.

The Americans who had been hid from the beginning in the pedrigal appeared to the front of Anzaldo, which from an unpardonable fault, as we have said, was abandoned, and advanced in the direction to San Gerónimo. General Valencia ordered the regiment of cavalry of Guanajuato by the road to check them. This force was insufficient in number, and ineffectual from the arm to which it pertained. It had a short skirmish, and a part of the regiment remained cut off. The enemy went on gradually and sheltered themselves in the little wood which surrounds San Gerónimo; in front of which there is a plain of small extent encircled with craggy hills. They organized themselves in this grove, intending a sally upon the point occupied by Valencia. The advices which from the beginning of the action he had sent to Generals Perez and Santa Anna he now repeated in view of the imminent danger which menaced us. On seeing the attempt of the enemy he ordered Torrejon to charge with all the cavalry. He decided that General Frontera should execute the order with number 2; the tramp of cavalry resounded and the clash of sabres was perceived. . . . . At this time the brigade of General Perez appeared upon the hill of Toro which commands the road, and in the midst of their music and vivas they displayed as guerrilias and in column, and made ready to attack the enemy of San Gerónimo. Frontera there purchased with his blood the laurel of heroes; the lead of the invader gave liberty to his generous soul, and he bequeathed his bleeding dead body as a memorial to his friends, of affection, and to his country, of glory.

The right road was cut by the Americans, who passed with difficulty from the Mal-Pais to San Gerónimo. But the force there, although very much reduced, was sufficiently strong to effect the establishment of the communication between the two Mexican armies.

A few minutes before our situation was desperate; we were cut off, and who would not have predicted a rout! But now our situation entirely changed; now the Americans were cut; now all was favorable, and an ephemeral light of victory flashed for one moment. Our arms were about to be unfortunate.

The beat for the return of General Perez, was struck three times, and General Santa Anna remained immovable with his division, whose presence had made the enemy to hesitate, and General Scott to fear for the issue of the battle. But Santa Anna did nothing to pass by the road when it was possible, and the belief was universal that he wished to surround with his division and ours the enemy's forces and accomplish in this manner their defeat.

Notwithstanding, the occasion had been lost. Soon, it is supposed, when after the attack of General Frontera had been made, and the forces of Santa Anna arrived, Scott made a movement like one who finds himself in a great peril. How is to be answered this inconceivable negligence?

During all the time of this inexplicable immobility of the forces of Santa Anna, the firing was going on in various directions. All the corps emulated each other in courage, and General Valencia redoubled his efforts. In the heat of action he gave an example of valor, of which, fairly, no one can deprive him or deny.

At the point where General Valencia decided on the charge of cavalry, of which we have spoken, he ordered a battery to be placed to the rear of the camp. Soon the death of General Frontera frustrated its operation; but the line of battle still being formed to the right of the grove, they marched to reinforce the battalion of Aguascalientes, when it was observed that the Americans were making a new attempt upon the camp.

At twilight suddenly, amid a thousand vivas, our soldiers made an effort to recover Padierna. There marched the commandante of battalion, Zimavilla, at the head of his corps, waving his sword, and encouraging his men, and our batteries protected him with their fires. Cabrera, with the rest of the brigade, followed him valiantly; our men were confounded with the enemy; a cannon ball knocked off the upper part of the walls of Padierna; and the dust clearing away, our victorious brothers crowned this point, disputing, with tenacious bravery, shouting and repeating loudly, viva la Republica.

After dark, and in the rain, some cannon firing was heard in the hills of the Olviar of the Carmelites, where Santa Anna was at this moment. This, which appeared to be its assistance, was its destruction.

In fact, after this firing General Santa Anna descended from the Olviar; and his company in chorus threw, what his presence gave license to, the blame of the defeat upon the insubordinate Valencia. The troops that were with General Santa Anna withdrew by his order, leaving Valencia surrounded on all sides and going to lodge at San Angel.

A little after General Santa Anna's coming to this point, some persons, and among them the Sr. Deputy, D. José María del Rio, explained the true position of General Valencia. He then sent his orders to his adjutant, D. J. Ramiro, to accompany Sr. del Rio, by safe paths, so as to effect a knowledge of the ground.

Very marked was the aspect of General Valencia at nightfall. He was persuaded of the troops of Santa Anna remaining at their posts, seeing that they preserved their positions. He considered for a moment his loss, and contented, and with the courage of his soldiers he dreamed of a triumph; he gave himself up to vain demonstrations of joy, and bewildered by it, he dictated himself his part afterwards, from the route; and he converted into the ridiculous how he would lavish the offices and honors, which in the event of a victory would have, at this present time, produced charges against him.

The camp remained covered as much as possible; the corps at the advanced posts serving for the grand guards, which were, in Padierna, the brigade of Cabrera; in front of San Gerónimo, the Aguas Calientes; at the bridge, the brigade of Torrejon, and at the *Fabriquita*, that of General Romero.

The soldiers had not eaten; after the fatigue of the action they had not one piece of bread nor wood for cooking, nor a place to recline. They were soaked with rain; yet there was not a complaint, a murmur, or a single indication of discontent. General Valencia protected himself in a barranca which was at the spot of the batteries. At nine Ramiro and del Rio arrived, saying that they had come on the part of Santa Anna. They commenced giving his order when Valencia interrupted by asking where that General could be found. They told him. He was certain then of the falling back of the troops, and in view of his horrible position, in a passionate tone, his eyes flashed fire, excited, abandoning reserve and what was due to him, he broke out in imprecations on Santa Anna in a loud voice, in the midst of all who participated in his vexation. * * * * General Santa Anna, he told him, desired that he would put himself in communication; but General Valencia without hearing anything, without heeding anything, frantic, continued his complaints, until he gave for answer that he commanded the troops and the artillery which he had and that he desired nothing more.* Sr. Ramiro, in the statement which he gave of the conference with General Valencia, asserted that he had at the time delivered to him the order to withdraw. But this declaration is not in conformity with General Salas, who assisted at this interview, and who has said that this order the adjutant of Valencia, D. Luis Arrieta, brought there at two in the morning.

The impression produced by the information of the withdrawal of the auxiliary troops was frightful; they then abused the moving of Santa Anna in the evening as a criminal abandonment. The discontent rapidly spread; and the least knowing might have predicted the rout of the subsequent day. In effect, this news relaxed absolutely the morale of the troops, and consummated their misfortune.

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* It is yet as much a mystery to the Americans as it seems to be incomprehensible to the Mexicans, why Santa Anna did not support Valencia.—Am. Ed.

However, in the night, General Valencia expected some reinforcements; for the bad weather was not to be blamed, since, if our soldiers even did suffer, the Americans had also no other cover than the same sky.

At two in the morning, an adjutant of Sr. Valencia, as we have indicated, returned to say, on the part of Santa Anna, that he should retire, spiking the pieces, destroying the park, and saving only what was possible. Valencia, however, considered withdrawing to be cowardice, that the positions of the Americans made it very difficult, and his contempt for the order surprised every person. He, therefore, under the influence of desperation, refused to obey.

This new message made those shiver who were suffering so much. They had endured the inclemency of the watch, and the tremendous anticipation—the anticipation of agony—of a shameful and certain defeat. At four, the general mounted his horse, collected some of the chiefs, asked their opinion, and the majority submitted to his resolution. This was, that all should place themselves at their posts.

At the first streak of dawn, on the 20th, all turned their eyes with anxiety to the road of San Angel, and, when convinced of there being no support, some soldiers abandoned the camp, and from that time all were deeply disheartened. * * * The rout was almost consummated.

The forces of the enemy advanced at day-break, in three columns; one directed its course to a height which is to the rear of the hill of Pelon Cuauhtitla, upon our right flank: another attacked by San Gerónimo: and the third remained between the Mal-Pais in front of the public road, and inclined upon the rancho of Padierna. The first column, throwing itself upon our position with the utmost celerity, overcame* the few who opposed it, under the orders of General Gonzales de Mendoza, and overran our camp. General Valencia wished to oppose this shock with new forces: but, overwhelmed on all sides, reduced at once to a small circle, grouped together, and the mules of the park, the women, the trains, and all confounded, the rout was too instantaneous. It was a series of useless and heroic efforts, which it would be ungrateful to conceal. Lieut.-Colonel Zires returned, fighting with the enemy. Generals Blanco and García tried to sustain themselves, until severe wounds deprived them of the power. At this time, the small remnant of the brigade of Cabrera accomplished an honorable retreat from Padierna to Anzaldo.

General Valencia led up some infantry to the enemy; but the circle of the American fire coiled like a serpent around our forces, and stifled them, now in disorder and lost.

Two roads remained: one by the inaccessible hills of San Gerónimo, the other by that of Anzaldo, both cut by the Americans. Those who took the former rolled like a torrent from the heights, overwhelming in the haste the soldiers, the mules, the loose horses, the wounded, who filled the air with their groans, and the women, who, shrieking, ran everywhere like furies. All this heterogeneous mass was trampled by the Americans, and these barbarous invaders aimed their shot at it.

Those, retiring also in confusion, who took the road of Anzaldo, encountered an American column that had advanced, and who, opening their fire, murdered our people. There some of the chiefs made courageous attempts to reform the ranks, and at this place many distinguished military men came out wounded.

Before arriving at the bridge which the road of San Angel cuts, anterior to Anzaldo, General Valencia understood that Santa Anna had left San Angel, only at half-past six, by taking the road of Olviar, where he was apprised of the defeat. Then Valencia, turning to the left of the bridge, took for the hills, in the direction, as is said, of San Angel; but his friends dissuaded him, by saying that General Santa Anna was furious, and that, in one of his bursts of passion, he had given orders for him to be shot. Upon learning this, he took another road.

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* In the original it literally means rolled away. This is figurative, from bodies of troops, who in retreating, seem to present the appearance of some mass rolling over the field.—Am. Ed.

At the bridge, Sr. General Salas merits an honorable and especial notice, who, in the midst of the fire, sword in hand, placed himself at the head of the cavalry of Torrejon, stopped the dispersion, and so intent was he upon charging the enemy that he was taken prisoner.

Such was the memorable rout of Padierna. When consummated, ambition and envy smiled with satisfaction, and saw as near and almost inevitable the loss of our beautiful capital.

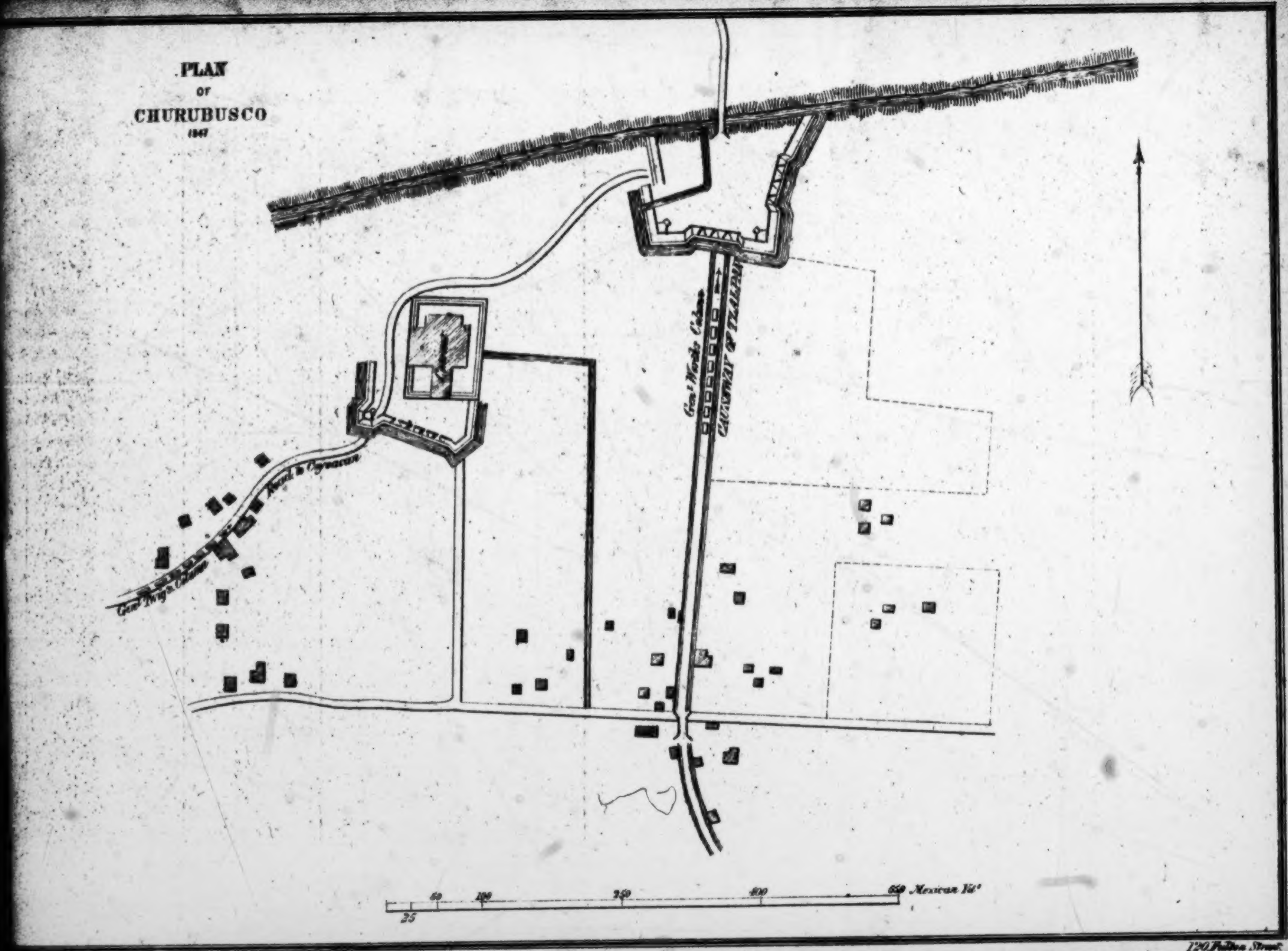
CHAPTER XVIII.

BRIDGE OF CHURUBUSCO.

A SHORT time after the first cannonade which was heard in the direction of Padierna, the vanguard of the division of General Santa Anna sallied out of San Angel to take up the same position which was occupied in the evening of the 19th, on the hills of the Toro. They had gone six hundred yards, the soldiers marching, attracted by the charm of the combat, to join their comrades, when the reports of the artillery were heard, succeeded by a sharp fire of musketry, which suddenly ceased, only some scattering shots being noted. These were the agony of the army of the North. The soldiers marched at charge step, but were immediately surprised at some parts of the cavalry, of the division of Valencia, coming in full flight and followed by others of the infantry, whom the enemy's columns were pursuing. There could be no doubt of the disaster of Padierna.

Immediately General Santa Anna decided to make, with this force and those which now met, in all the first line, a movement of concentration upon our second of defence, situated at the garitas of Mexico.

Two adjutants departed, escaping by San Antonio and Mexicalcingo, to take orders to Generals Bravo and Gaona, for them to fall back to the garita of the Candelaria, preserving all the material of war, and the storehouse existing at the second point. Santa Anna also ordered General Lombardini to countermarch with the brigade of General Rangel, denominated the reserve, for the Citadel, numbering 2,000 infantry, taking with him some wagons of park, and to go by the bridge of Panzacola, entering by the garita of the Niño



PLAN
OF
CHURUBUSCO
1847

rmann lith.

120 Fulton Street.

Perdido. The light brigade under General Perez was to withdraw by Coyoacan to the bridge of Churubusco, and to follow afterwards to the Candelaria, in number 2,500 infantry.

The infantry being under march General Santa Anna with his staff, the regiments of hussars, the Light of Vera Cruz, and the rest of the cavalry of the division of the north, under Generals Jāuregui and Torrejon, took the track of the last brigade to observe if the Americans attempted to penetrate San Angel. When he came to Coyoacan he halted, until the last soldier had joined.

The enemy followed and overtook our forces on the same road fighting them in retreat, and they continuing in haste in a hurried tramp, harassed by the discharges of the American columns who pursued around them, and to whom they could offer no resistance. In this state they passed to the convent of Churubusco, where they found Generals Rincon and Anaya, with the corps of the National Guards, the Independencia and the Bravos.

General Santa Anna gave a verbal order to the first to preserve the point at all risk. Such worthy defenders imitated at this time the example of the valiant captain, to whom in the war of the Vendée General Kleber gave orders that he should resist at any cost, to save the army, and who did not hesitate to sacrifice his life, possessing a patriotism which deserves the greatest eulogiums.

When these events were passing, General Worth, by the order of Scott, attacked San Antonio; and as the forces which were there began to retreat in accordance with the direction of General Santa Anna, they did not make an obstinate resistance, further than to detain the enemy while the withdrawing of the troops to the capital was effected. Two pieces of artillery remained in San Antonio, one from the want of mules, and the other from sticking fast in the mud. At the same time, also, a large quantity of the material of war fell into the hands of the Americans.

The chiefs continuing to sustain the rear guard were General Perdigon and Colonel Zerecero, who made an honorable defence in

Zotepingo, the first being taken prisoner and the second saving himself by getting in among the horse herds. Worth having overcome this obstacle followed on to attack the bridge of Churubusco. From a bad combination, the division which came from Coyoacan met in passing the bridge, distant about 500 yards from the convent of Churubusco, with those retreating from San Antonio, and pursued by Worth, who had overtaken after having defeated them, as has been said in a preceding paragraph. These were the battalions of Nacionales de Lagos, Acapulco, and some pickets who were stationed in the works to the right, and making a heroic although useless defence.

General Santa Anna placed a battery of 5 pieces in the head of the bridge, protected by the companies of San Patricio and the battalion of Tlapa.[*]

The passage was obstructed by two munition wagons; and over these, and among the wheels and the feet of the mules which drew them, they passed in confusion and in mass, leaving abandoned on the causeway of San Antonio, the greater part of the park which General Alcorta, with much activity, endeavored to save. But General Santa Anna directed that no wagon should pass the bridge until all the troops had crossed, now advancing by the two roads, which caused the loss of a great quantity of material. General Alcorta, despairing of saving them, withdrew at last from the causeway on seeing the enemy penetrating by it. At this time the forces of Worth, sheltered by the wagons of the abandoned park, advanced upon the bridge. General Santa Anna observing this, ordered the brigade of Perez to countermarch, which returned a few minutes afterwards, the others continuing on to the capital, guided by the quartermaster of the army. In the head of the bridge was placed the 1st Light, and to its left the 3d, 4th, and 11th, the water-course serving as a ditch which passed to their front. The enemy advanced in column to very near the parapets; when our artillery and infantry, with a hailstorm of balls, cut them up and made them falter. One of our artillerymen set fire at the time to two wagons of the park abandoned in front of the battery. They exploded with a horrible report, and their fragments flying in all directions, caused a frightful carnage.

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[*] It has been usual to call this a bridge head, but the Mexicans never reckoned it among the fortifications, nor do they ever mention it by any other name than the Bridge of Churubusco. It is built of stone, with low parapets, in the most durable manner, over a broad canal some 50 feet wide, that is intended to drain the water from the level fields. It is within point blank cannon range of the convent of Churubusco, and the hacienda of the Portales; the first being on the furthest side from the city, and the latter on the nearest. On approaching the bridge it seems to be fortified from the high embankments on each side of the canal.—Am. Ed.

The Americans formed a new line of battle in front of our position, and the action was made general. Two lines of smoke were marked in the air, and two tracks of blood on the ground. The gallant Colonel Gayoso, of the 1st Light, ordered the music to strike up an inspiriting piece, and at the same moment fell wounded. The convent of Churubusco appeared like a castle, with its right side and front illumined with lurid flashes. Its defenders called for the park and Santa Anna sent to them one of the wagons which had stalled on the road, and for a reinforcement to the companies of Tlapa and San Patricio. General Alcorta examined the whole line and D. Antonio Haro, D. Augustin Tornel, D. Juan José Baz, D. Vicente Garcia Torres, and other worthy officers, carried orders from the General-in-chief, and to the line some park saved with difficulty.

A new column of the enemy interposing between the bridge and the Convent, threatened to involve the two positions. General Santa Anna took the 4th Light and part of the 11th of the line, and directed them to the hacienda of the Portales, a fourth of a league to the rear, with the object of checking these flankers. He posted some infantry on the azotea of a house which was built adjoining the causeway, surrounding its basement with the rest of the force who commenced to fire from this point.

At this time the attack on the bridge ceased, for the Americans directed themselves to the right following those who had preceded them. General Bravo came now from the horse yards, with some others saved at San Antonio. Perez explained to him that they were cut off, and that not one cartridge remained; in consequence of which his soldiers disbanded in every direction, a part taking that of El Peñon. The enemy approached the bridge without more resistance, and cannonaded the fugitives with the very artillery abandoned there in desperation by the gunners and the draught horses.

On Portales the attack was renewed, and the Americans advanced, deploying as skirmishers over the plain. General Quijano returned to this point with the Húsares, Vera Cruz, and the remainder of the cavalry of the North, renewing his efforts for them to charge and persisting to the extreme. In starting, they encountered a small ditch, which they declared an obstacle, and with this pretext countermarched. * * * *

General Santa Anna with his staff, and General Alcorta retired also from this place which still was contested. He mixed himself with the cavalry, and desperate, gave the whip to some of the officers who fled. On the causeway a horrible disorder was seen; all were confounded, and pushed one another, and trampled each other under foot.

The American dragoons mounted on fleet horses coming up to our rear-guard increased the fright in crushing those whom they met in their way. General Santa Anna reached the garita of San Antonio, and after him the rest of ours, cut to pieces, mixed up with some of the enemy's dragoons, intoxicated with blood. The men at the guns discharged some grape-shot among these, and the infantry feeling that their entrance was now covered, opened a thick fire along the causeway, animated by the presence of Generals Santa Anna, Alcorta, and Gaona, who personally commanded them. At this moment an American officer, in a uniform of blue, penetrated through the low earthen rampart, mounted on his horse, sword in hand, dealing sabre blows, and falling wounded upon the esplanade. Many swords were drawn to kill him; but the others also hastened to defend him on seeing him fall. He rose crippled, radiant with valor, and smiling at the felicity of being at the gates of the capital.* The firing ceased, for every object disappeared from the causeway. Many of our soldiers were killed by their own companions, in approaching to this fatal barrier, confounded with the enemy.

It was now four in the evening. The combat had begun at eleven; another hour of mortal hope ran on, and in it the far distant echoes of the artillery at Portales and Churubusco were heard. Many nationals and soldiers returned to the garita who had retired within the city. The evening was growing grey, and nature seemed in harmony with the impending catastrophe. The horizon was obscured by immense showers of rain, which fell in torrents upon our thrice conquered people. The night enveloped as a black pall indicative of sorrow the unfortunate capital of the most unfortunate Republic. The measured tread of the most silent soldiers was heard in the midst of the storm, who, overcome with being conquered and yielding to fatigue, retired to their quarters by the direction of General Santa Anna, leaving in the garita only a small garrison. At nine in the night there reigned already in the streets of Mexico, the silence of death, interrupted only by the galloping of the horse of some adjutant who carried orders, or the voice of some sentinel who cried "Alerta."†

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* This refers to Captain Philip Kearney, 1st Dragoons. He lost an arm, but gained a brevet, and was soon after fit for duty. He was supported gallantly by his squadron, who did not suffer him to be taken prisoner as the original would leave it to be inferred.—AM. ED.

† The call of the Mexican sentries is "Centinel Alerte"—a corruption of "Centinela Alerta." This custom is not used in the American army, and possibly is retained with them because something is wanting to constantly

assure the officer of the guard that each link in the chain of sentinels is at all times occupied. The Mexican cry is faint, weak, and really feminine, and by no means pleasant to the ear. The American hurra was on a lower key, but so deep and full-toned that the Mexicans could with difficulty believe it was earthly.—AM. ED.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONVENT OF CHURUBUSCO.

THE American army accomplished their first triumph in the valley of Mexico, over the division of the North commanded by General Valencia, and, in the morning of the 20th of August, they prepared to open a passage from the victorious field of Padierna to the capital of the Republic. Upon the retreat of the routed army, they followed it, by orders of the General-in-chief, to where the forces covered our fortifications by the road of the South. In the meanwhile the greater part returned to Mexico, and another very small body resisted the enemy at Zotepingo, and the defenders of the Convent of Churubusco determined to sustain an action that merits an honorable recompense and the national gratitude.

But our political passions, which poison all things, have feasted also on this memorable event, and the defence of the Convent of Churubusco has become a controverted fact, a matter for argument, and a question of politics. We will not enter into this forbidden ground, intent on our aim of not inflaming hatred nor contracting it ourselves, and we will refer briefly and impartially to those transactions; and the simple narration will be sufficient for impartial men to form an exact opinion on this affair of arms, which was carried to the point of meriting the eulogies of the very enemy, who purchased there a sanguinary and expensive victory.

We have seen already, in another place, how the larger part of the National Guard of the District, that formed the fifth brigade, under General D. Pedro Maria Anaya, after remaining at El Peñon to the 17th, took up the march for the advanced post of Churubusco.

The battalions of Independencia and Bravos were posted there; while those of Hidalgo and Victoria, not without a protest against isolating our forces, passed to San Antonio, whose defence was intrusted to the General of division D. Nicolas Bravo; and that at Churubusco to D. Manuel Rincon, of equal rank.

When the army of Scott attacked, in Padierna, on the 19th of August, the division of the North, the report of the cannon which interrupted the majestic silence of the valley of Mexico apprised the defenders of the Convent that the moment had come to fight for the salvation of the capital. The troops of Churubusco were all that day in conjecturing uncertainty, which made them apprehend an unfortunate issue; and when the firing ceased at nightfall, uncertain of the result of the battle, they awaited anxiously for the light of a new day, which was about to decide the destinies of the country.

It was seven in the morning of the 20th, when a firing afar off, upon the hills of Padierna, was sufficiently perceptible and sustained, succeeded by a light and silent pause, that announced fatally the calamitous event which, at this instant, the most choice division of the army suffered. Soon after the afflicting rumor began to spread which affirmed a defeat, and which introduced depression and confusion among the soldiers who understood it. However, the troops of Churubusco prepared to obey the order that had been given, for the battalions of Independencia and Bravos, with a 4-pounder, to make ready to enter the line of battle. But information came of the disaster of Padierna, and new orders were received, which resulted in that movement not taking place. In fact, General Tornel, Quarter-Master of the Army, had sent to communicate, before, the defeat of Valencia, and that the enemy were advancing upon the capital. One company of Independencia, commanded by the first adjutant of the corps, D. Francisco Peñuñuri, received, in consequence, an order to take post in the tower of the church of Coyoacan, and there to protect the retreat.

The troops who had succeeded in falling back by the direction of the General-in-chief soon began to enter the fortifications of Churubusco. He presented himself a little while afterwards, and halted to order that these would march faster, and directed his discourse to Generals Rincon and Anaya, making the most severe criticisms on the conduct of General Valencia; blaming him for his disobedience; attributing to his ambition and thirst of aggrandizement the disaster that had occurred, and making known that he had given an order for him to be shot, which he wished would overtake him as a punishment for his crimes. These criminations which we have expressed in decent language to preserve the respect due to our readers, he uttered in a dialect which cannot be repeated.

Santa Anna also corroborated the information that the enemy were coming upon our rear guard; and after recommending that they should make in Churubusco a vigorous defence he retired. The troops continued their march; the defenders of Churubusco, destined for sacrifice for the salvation of others, saw more than 5000 soldiers called the flower of the army passing, who retreated without fighting. Abandoned thus to their own resources, some 650 country people, badly armed, without the requisite instruction, nor with the energy and coolness which are required in many battles, were about to close willingly with the onset of all the forces of the United States, victorious and irresistible, and preceded by the terror which prepared all for their triumph. These circumstances united seemed to produce the idea of a hopeless attempt among those of Churubusco more than anything else.

At half-past eleven in the morning General Anaya, accompanied by his adjutants, went forward on the road of Coyoacan to ascertain the proximity of the enemy, and received information from the natives who were abandoning their homes and running frightened, that the enemy were advancing certainly upon the Convent. This notice was confirmed in a reliable manner by those who remained of the force of the Independencia that had been ordered to Coyoacan with Peñuñuri, and who afterwards suffered some loss, and were returning beating a retreat, and falling back in the mud and alleys. Knowing now what had passed, and perceiving the vanguard of the enemy at a short distance, General Anaya returned to Churubusco, where all were ready for the defence. But before referring to that we must give a slight description of the ground on which it took place.

Churubusco is a small hamlet distant two leagues from Mexico, situated at the intersection of the roads from Tlalpam and Coyoacan, forming, as it were, the vertex of the angle which both causeways make. The dwellings in Churubusco are composed of humble huts of adobe, erected in a fertile and fruitful soil where vegetation in exuberance unfolds itself. Its fields produce the thick cane of the maize, and its lanes extend to the very church and Convent of Churubusco.

This edifice, by its solidity and strength, and by its situation, had been selected to resist, or rather, so to speak, to check for some time the enemy. A better could not be required, if the observer noticed the additional assistance which the fortification afforded that had been constructed, consisting of a parapet made of adobe, eight and a half feet thick, at the distance of twenty steps from the gate of the Convent, and defended with broad ditches, full for the most part to some depth with rain water and that which rose from the earth. The shortness of the time, and the precipitation with which they had labored at the fortifications, would not permit that the parapet raised on the front and left side should be extended to the right flank of the position, nor to the azotea of the convent, nor even where it existed had it been finished.

At daybreak on the 20th, there was not in Churubusco a gunner, nor artillery, except a four-pounder, which would have effected little or nothing in checking the enemy. But fortunately, when General Santa Anna fell back, he ordered that five pieces should remain which his troops had. With these they could now make a more determined resistance.

All being then prepared for an attack, the defenders of Churubusco waited on their arms for the enemy to approach. They in the meanwhile advanced upon the Convent, believing they could take it at a little loss, since the facility with which they had come thus far made them presume that our whole army had returned, without fighting, to the capital. Owing to this, a circumstance confirmed them in its belief, which was that of our not opening our fire upon them until they found themselves in musket range of the fortifications, which had been directed by the express orders of Generals Rincon and Anaya, who, to save powder from being thrown away, had determined they should not make a discharge on the enemy before they were at a very short distance. This, in effect, was done, and the terrible havoc which the fire produced upon the ranks of the North Americans obliged them to stop for a moment, intimidated and surprised. After a little delay, however, they continued their advance, directing a force upon the front of the parapet, and another still larger upon the right side. Then commenced a spirited action, which the valor and soldiers of both nations prolonged for some time, till the serious loss of the enemy compelled them to give way.

There were in this action strokes of courage worthy to be mentioned; among which merits particular eulogium, that of the young D'Eligio Villamar, an officer of the regiment of Bravos, who, from the first shot, stood up on the parapet, and remained there, exposed to the enemy's fire, encouraging his soldiers, and without ceasing one minute to shout for the Republic and the Generals Rincon and Anaya. His boldness was the more conspicuous, since he had dedicated himself formerly to exclusive scientific and literary pursuits, and this being the first time that he had confronted death on the field of battle.

At the beginning of the attack some confusion was introduced into the ranks of the Bravos, occasioned by complaints that the fire killing and wounding the soldiers was received from their companions of the Independencia. The greater part of this corps covered with their breasts the right flank of the position entirely exposed from the want of a parapet, and the other soldiers were posted on the azotea of the Convent and on some stands that had been constructed within a corral, being supplied with high benches.* The aiming down of those firing naturally injured some who were defending the parapet. General Rincon being apprised of the cause of the disorder ordered them down from the elevation where they were posted, and incorporated them with the rest of the battalion.

As we have endeavored to show the American division of General Twiggs, that had made the first attack, happened to be repulsed. The arrival of the others who were ready to come to their assistance, not only contributed the means to renew the engagement, but also to cause an attack upon the Convent in various places, making general the action in a few minutes. Nevertheless, the situation of our forces in action was now very critical; for their rear, the only point where they could save themselves in the event of a disaster, was at this time assaulted by Worth's division, advancing upon the troops in retreat from San Antonio. And this was not the worst, since the ammunition began to fail, and the moment was anticipated when the absolute want of it would stop all effective resistance. General Rincon from the first perceived this inconvenience, wherefore he had ordered the two adjutants who were at his side, as well as other strangers who presented themselves, to ask supplies of General Santa Anna. One of these instructed to inform him that the position had been flanked and simultaneously attacked by the whole of the enemy's forces, and that they were now scant in men and park, received for answer that all had been provided and that they should defend themselves. Yet, moved by what was said, Santa Anna sent as reinforcements some pickets of Tlapa and

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* A corral is a yard surrounded with a high wall of stone, or lime and sand, sometimes the fence is of wood, but very seldom. It is used for keeping horses, mules, and other animals, to prevent their being stolen.—AM. ED.

Lagos and the company of San Patricio. He also despatched a park wagon, which contained cartridges of 9½ drachms each for muskets, while we had none of that calibre. Thus the desperation of the soldiers was at its height, when with the hope of maintaining the combat and even triumphing, they threw themselves upon the boxes of the park, breaking them open with their hands, and bearing the cartridges to the cannon to find them unfortunately too narrow to admit the charges.

The only men who used this park were the soldiers of the San Patricio, whose muskets were of the corresponding calibre. Their deportment deserves the greatest eulogies, since all the time the attack lasted they sustained the fire with extraordinary courage. A great number of them fell in the action; while those who survived, more unfortunate than their companions, suffered soon after a cruel death or horrible torments, improper in a civilized age, and from a people who aspire to the title of illustrious and humane.*

A grave and indisputable accusation in our opinion against

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* These Patricios were deserters from the American army, as has already been mentioned in a former note. In a general court martial 29 of them were tried and found guilty; 16 of them were hung at San Angel on the 10th of September. Some were branded on the cheek with the letter D, who had deserted before the actual commencement of hostilities, and received in addition the lash well laid on. Others were recommended to mercy, and some had mitigating circumstances in their favor; all of whom of course were pardoned by General Scott. This American general is one of the last men in the world against whom the charge of cruelty with any justice can be brought. His humanity on all occasions, his kindness as evinced to every individual, and his sympathy and attention to the sick and wounded, endeared him to the whole army, officers and soldiers. In fact, the very generosity and excellence of his heart led him sometimes too far, and he has since reaped in ingratitude the good seed sown in the fulness of his noble sensibilities.

But it does not become the Mexicans to criticise this proper treatment of the deserters, since they have meted out the same punishment of death to their deserters.—Am. Ed.

General Santa Anna resulted from his having disdained the victory which could have been gained on that day, and in abandoning to their own resources those in Churubusco. It was natural to impute treason and to found a new count in the indictment on the very trivial and absurd special reason that some of the cartridges met with were without balls, having been intentionally and deliberately destined to render ineffectual the defence by protecting the cause and the lives of the enemy, as if a General-in-chief should descend to discharging the duties of a park guard. . . . It is not less certain that some boxes contained park of instruction, and that many soldiers to supply the place of balls sought stones of the proper size.

We return now to relating the attack from which the former considerations have led us astray.

In the time of the closest contest and when the issue seemed almost decided in favor of the enemy, General Anaya ascended the esplanade on horseback, ordered one of the pieces to be charged with grape-shot, and leaping rapidly to the ground, personally directed its pointing. The sparks of the port-fire which served to touch off the piece set fire to the park, burning three or four artillery-men, Captain Oleary, who served it, and General Anaya himself. All these were disabled except the general, who in despite of being blind for some time, did not abandon the field of battle. During the whole action might always be seen sharing the same danger, the serene General Rincon, who passing through all the line, encouraged the soldier by his presence, while dictating his measures as Commander-in-chief.

The decided and glorious conduct of the subordinates corresponded to the energy and good deportment of these worthy leaders. The chiefs, the officers, and the soldiers competed in ardor, and were not one particle dismayed although they well knew their critical position.

Their exhibitions of courage were repeated every time that the boldness of the enemy made the danger imminent. The patriotic and energetic Colonel D. Eleuterio Mendez, who had asked for his son and for himself the post of the greatest danger, remained firm at his place, against whom all the firing was launched without wounding him. Lieutenant D. José María Revilla, leaving the ranks of the infantry, where he fought without risk, served on horseback as adjutant of General Rincon, when those at his side of this grade had abandoned him. The enthusiastic officer D. Juan Aguilar y Lopez, met with a piece which he could not serve for want of gunners, and without even any instruction, exposed to be captured, if the proper precautions were not taken, resolved to use the cannon against the assailants, calling to the two heads of corps to assist him; and between the three they sustained for some time the fire, sufficiently expensive to the enemy. Finally, an artillery officer of General Alvarez came there, who undertook to direct the piece; but not for this did Aguilar retire, who with his companions continued at the post aiding to discharge the gun.

The action had lasted for three hours and a half without the repeated efforts of the Americans being crowned with a decided victory. The spirit of our troops did not decay; but, on the contrary, at each moment the soldiers felt the more desirous to prolong the battle. Unfortunately, the ammunition was now almost completely expended. The respective chiefs whose names we have preserved in another article, called urgently for park to General Rincon.

The firing commenced to slacken on our part, in proportion as the park diminished the more; and it came at last, that this Convent which hurled so lately its fires from all sides like a castle could not send one shot, as if none of its defenders remained standing. The enemy surprised at this sudden silence for which they could not account, and apprehensive that it might be a stratagem of war, paused some minutes in deciding to advance upon the parapet, from which they received no opposition. Our soldiers on their part full of despondency rested now on their arms, bold and burning like the vivid fire which they had emitted. Generals Rincon and Anaya affected to madness, seeing there was no choice to prolong the resistance, ordered that the whole force should retire within the Convent to await the decree of their fate. But during these terrible moments in which hope itself was lost, there were brave men who intended to make a last effort of desperation, and their boldness added new victims to this memorable defence.

The intrepid Peñuñuri determined to charge bayonet upon the enemy at the head of a number of soldiers of his corps; but he had scarcely advanced some steps when a ball mortally wounded him. Not even then did his stout heart give way; now unable to move, and withdrawn by some friends to the interior of the Convent, he continued to animate his soldiers, and died at last with the dignity and greatness of a hero.

Likewise the patriotic captain of sharp-shooters, D. Luis Martinez de Castro, received another mortal wound in attempting to open a passage through the enemy, to join his regiment with that which had been cut off. Martinez de Castro was taken prisoner, and only survived for a few days the attack, in spite of the skill and attention with which they endeavored to save him. He fell, leaving in the heart of his friends an immense void by his death, while country, virtue, and literature mourn for him.

Now the forces retiring into the Convent, who obeyed the orders of the generals, awaited in resignation the coming of the enemy, who at last had resolved to advance. The first who presented himself upon the parapet was the valiant American Captain Smith, of the 3d of the line, who gave an example of valor to many following him; and, no less magnanimous than daring, scarce had he ascertained that now, on our part, no resistance was made, than he showed a white flag, and prevented the savage crowd who accompanied him gratifying their fury on the conquered.

Patriotism and society were horrified in meeting among the conquerors, who made their triumphal entry into Churubusco, a little squadron of bandits, who, under the name of *contra guerrilleros*, whom the famous Dominguez led as Captain, and as auxiliaries of the American army, made war on their country, more sanguinary than the very enemy. General Anaya, now prisoner, impelled by a feeling of execration and horror, apostrophized the insolent little chief, calling him traitor, at the risk of his own life.*

A general shout had announced the arrival of Twiggs, who, saluting courteously and like a soldier the Mexican generals and officers, harangued his own people, commending their valor and recommending to them the prisoners. These, in their tenacious struggle, had counted twenty-two shots in the American flag, which General Twiggs brought, deposited in their hands. A moment after, in the Convent of Churubusco a scene prevailed of death, desolation, and grief. Thus ended the 20th of August, 1847, in this religious mansion, so calm and tranquil at other times.

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* It can reasonably be supposed by the charitable reader, that, if Dominguez and his company had fallen into Mexican hands, they would have received a welcome not "improper in a civilized age." The coincidence was rather remarkable of the "Spy Company," as Dominguez's party was called by the Americans, meeting with the San Patricios; and while Anaya was apostrophizing the "cabecilla" in, no doubt, the most refined Castilian, Twiggs and Worth were ventilating their vocabulary of Saxon expletives, not very "courteously," on Riley and his beautiful disciples of St. Patrick.

Dominguez is called a "little chief," which is a diminutive only, and does not apply to his stature. He was a large, muscular, powerful, and courageous Mexican. His company, about 150 in number, resembled him. They all fought well and faithfully for the Americans, and contributed considerably to a proper knowledge of the ground and enemy's positions. They were called *contra guerrilleros*, from the fact that, in their Mexican innocence, they alleged the guerrilias on the Vera Cruz road had broken up, or rather monopolized, their trade, which was highway robbing. To make, therefore, another honest living, in another honest way, they changed from robbers to traitors. This information is not derived from a third person, but from Dominguez himself and his men. If all the Mexicans had fought as they did, some chapters of this war would not have been written.—AM. ED.

CHAPTER XX.

ARMISTICE—NEGOTIATIONS OF PEACE—NEW BREAKING OUT OF HOSTILITIES, FROM THE 21st OF AUG. TO THE 8TH OF SEPT. 1847.

> "Votre cabinet veut profiter de mes embarras. . . . . Bien, voyons; traitons. J'y consens. Que voulez-vous?"—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. (*Conference with Prince Metternich.*)

THE sinister policy of the United States of North America has been mentioned, and the origin of the war which has stained with blood the soil of our country. As has been seen diplomacy left the question to arms when the army of that Republic gave an evidence of hostility by advancing upon our territory and approaching the Fort of Santa Isabel. From that day nothing was heard but the cry of "war;" and as one sun succeeds another sun, thus succeeded the scenes of blood and extermination, until the horses of the north arrived to trample the smiling, fertile, level fields of the beautiful valley of Mexico, and the degenerate descendants of William Penn came to insult the sepulchres of our fathers. * * * Then there is a moment of truce, a solemn moment which we are going to occupy.

The unfortunate day of the 20th of August had terminated: the loud sound of cannon even yet rang in the ears of the Mexicans: the sanguinary battles of Padierna and Churubusco had passed, and the invading army triumphed at the gates of the city. The spirits were worn out; the remains of our troops demoralized and lost, and confusion and disorder had overcome all classes of society. The pen, therefore, of Tacitus or Machiavelli is requisite to paint in proper colors the extraordinary situation of the most beautiful capital of the new world.

In circumstances so straitened General Santa Anna retired to the Palace, possessed of a black despair from the unfortunate events of the war. He assembled there the ministers and other persons of distinction, and the President took up the discourse to make an extensive review of the efforts which, during the day, had been undertaken to accomplish some triumph, and the lamentable state in which he encountered our forces. He concluded by explaining that it was indispensable to recur to a truce to take a long respite. Various were the opinions which were there expressed; but, that which finally prevailed was that a suspension of arms should be negotiated through the Spanish Minister Plenipotentiary and the Consul-general of England.

In effect, Sr. Pacheco, minister of relations, addressed Srs. Bermudez de Castro and Mackintosh, who were entreated to bring this result to a head. But events effected it in a manner more favorable to national decorum.

The American army, notwithstanding their triumphs, were also tired out. It was not a small loss of blood which their advantageous position had cost the conquerors; it was requisite then for some repose, and General Scott to gain it transmitted a note to General Alcorta, Minister of War, in which, after lamenting the blood shed in a war *uncommon*,[*] that the two great Republics of this continent

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[*] The original English says "*of nature*;" in the translation of which there were not wanting particular scenes somewhat disagreeable in the interior of the cabinet.[†]

[†] To those acquainted with the Castilian idiom the astonishment which this communication produced in the Mexican cabinet, can easily be comprehended. General Scott described it as an unnatural war, and the enemy understood the phrase in its common acceptation. There was no fault, certainly, in their doing so. It was a diplomatic letter of which it was to be presumed each word was duly weighed.

Now, to Spanish delicacy, a war against nature is a perfect novelty, not only disgusting but a deadly insult. They may conceive war to be a crime, such as murder, arson, burglary, &c.; but to place it in that category called by jurists "crimes against nature," was adding a new species to what was punished in the sodomites of scripture, and at the common law in the Criminal Sessions of American Courts.

To the feminine sensibility of Mexican refinement and diplomacy, this seemed an abhorwaged, indicated that it was time their differences should be arranged diplomatically, for which a commissioner of the United States was to be met with invested with full powers.

"To facilitate," says General Scott, "the two republics entering into negotiations I desire to subscribe in reasonable terms, a short armistice."

This changed throughout the aspect of affairs. And immediately it was agreed that the minister of war should answer Scott in proper terms, that the proposition to celebrate an armistice was entertained with pleasure, and for which purpose two persons had been named, who would agree to the place and time which might be designated. In the meanwhile the President, apprehensive of a new assault on the part of the enemy's army, had ordered that all our troops should be under arms, directing personally one portion of them at two in the morning in the entrenchments of the garita of the Candelaria.

As soon as the above note was transmitted by the minister of relations whose final result might be the celebration of a convention or diplomatic treaty, it was indispensable that it should be submitted for the approval or rejection of the legislative body. To which end

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rent insult, not only to them but also to the American government. Some supposed (in extenuation!) he referred to the means used in carrying on the war, or to the excesses resulting from it, while his meaning was nothing more than a strong expression against a war between two sister republics, such as fratricidal. Even in English the expression is amenable to criticism, although the pulpit, the press, and common parlance have introduced it as applied to war, into the rugged, broad, plain-spoken Anglo-Saxon language. Gen. Scott in the hurry, noise, bustle, and inconvenience of a camp, may be excused in making use of it, and in his noble heart, he applied it with a generous sentiment towards the enemy. Hyperbole, however, is at all times a dangerous figure of speech where its meaning has to be sought through the medium of some butchering dissection of a literal translation, intrusted, as is too common, to a plodding clerk, who understands the art like a stone-mason understands sculpture.

In fact, many Mexicans yet cannot comprehend a phrase which seems to have no synonym in their dictionaries, and which even the slang of the Leperos possibly would not express. It finally was supposed to signify *desnaturalizado*—unaccustomed, or uncommon; and that is the last of their progress towards a knowledge of American literature.—Am. Ed.

the deputies were to be convoked, so that assembled they might take the part appertaining to them in a subject of such vital interest to the Republic. It was now three in the evening of the 21st, when not more than 26 deputies assembled, who agreed to make a new citation on those who had not attended. This the deputy Salonio, president of congress, communicated the same day to the executive. Here is the place, undoubtedly, in which ought to be made known the unworthy conduct of a majority of the representatives of the people, who, from indifference, cowardice, or bad faith, disregarded their sacred obligations in the moments of the greatest peril of the country. Impartial and severe history shall destine them to a page of opprobrium and ignominy ![*]

Our cabinet continued, however, in the plan resorted to. It named Generals Mora y Villamil and Quijano to regulate an armistice with the Major General Quitman, and the Brigadiers Smith and Pierce, appointed for the same object by the General-in-chief of the invading army.

These mentioned chiefs assembled on the 22d, in the town of Tacubaya, reciprocally exhibited their powers, and signed, after a long conference, a convention, in which the absolute cessation of hostilities was stipulated between both armies within the circumference of 30 leagues of the capital of Mexico during the armistice, all which time the commissioners of both powers were to occupy in negotiations, *or until* (Art. 2d) *the chief of either of the two armies should advise formally the other of the termination of this, and with* 48 *hours' previous notice of the opening of hostilities:* the total prohibition of erecting works of fortifications, offensive or defensive, within the limits agreed upon: the armies not to strengthen themselves, stopping all assistance, except those of provisions, at 28 leagues distance from head-quarters: and the advancing of detachments or individuals of either army from the lines then occupied not to be permitted, except when conducted or covered by a flag of truce respecting subjects authorized by the armistice itself.

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[*] See at the end of this chapter the list of the deputies who met in the hall of the sessions.[*]

[*] The said list does not appear as is intimated.—AM. ED.

It was stipulated, likewise, that the American army should neither impede the passage of supplies of aliments necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants of the city, nor of our army, as well as that the Mexican authorities, civil or military, should not obstruct the passage of provisions from the city or country for the American army. This last concession, made, perhaps, very hastily, in the Art. 7th of the convention of which we treat, was, as is seen below, of very fatal consequences for both contracting parties.

Beyond that expressed, it was agreed to an exchange of prisoners: but one for one, by considering their rank: that which in truth was very little to our advantage. Since in the hands of the Americans individual prisoners of the highest social distinction were met, such as Sres. Anaya, Rincon, Salas, Gorostiza, and others, while for us we held but only a number of officers and some soldiers, of the smallest or of no importance whatever to the enemy's army.

An especial article of the convention conceded to the prisoners wounded on the field of battle that they should be transferred to a place which might appear most convenient for their recovery; and, although they should preserve their character as prisoners, it still was a tribute of justice to suffering humanity.

A free exercise in the administration of justice and respect for property in the places occupied by the invading army were secured, as were proper, in this convention.

Finally, to facilitate the belligerent armies in the execution of the articles stipulated, they fixed some rules common in these cases, and to which, therefore, it is useless to refer.

The contents of Art. 9th of the armistice have not been mentioned in this place, for it was not ratified by our government. Its object was to permit all the American citizens, residents of the capital, to return to their respective affairs, to whom it had been ordered to retire into the interior of the Republic after the invading army had triumphed in the terrible battle of Cerro-Gordo. It ought to be known, that some of these citizens, far from complying with the orders of the government, fled to join the invading ranks; and, versed in the country and acquainted with its language, they served them, on extraordinary occasions, as guides, interpreters, &c.

General Scott, on his part, made, at the ratification, an illustration of no small importance. In the Spanish translation of the convention, the word "viveres" was inserted as equivalent to "supplies," and that general declared that he understood "assistance." A strong discussion succeeded, not upon the signification of the word, but upon the inconveniences in agreeing to it in all its latitude; but finally the ratification was assented to, stipulating only for the entrance of assistance in munitions and arms. The 24th day of August remained for the ultimate ratification of the armistice by both parties.

This was, without doubt, the affair of the most importance which had been transacted since the opening of hostilities between the *model* republic and its unfortunate imitator. The issue of a battle and the loss of a fortress or a city, when two nations are engaged in a contest, are events that prepare, more or less, for a termination, but which are not the termination itself. The greater danger, for a people who as ours sustain an unequal strife, is met with precisely at the moment when bloodshed having ceased, the defence of their honor begins along with the examination of their interest in the arena of policy: where everything is discussed coldly, where are mixed up calculations and plans of all kinds, and where reason does not always conquer; for, frequently in the diplomatic combinations, right is measured according to the force of the complainant.

Mexico, therefore, was confronted face to face with her ambitious adversary: who, perhaps, was going to tear off the mask to expose her exaggerated pretensions, but contending, it is right to say, on entirely new ground. However, be it as it may, our government still adopted a prudent and wise step in giving an ear to the propositions of the United States, since thus it would learn, in a solemn manner, what these pretensions really were. In this way the innocence of our country would be placed in a clear light: every one could know the justice with which, on our side, the war had been supported, and which, if humiliating to us, yet in no wise imparting glory to our opponents.

Now the public attention was directed towards one point. No one in the capital spoke of anything except the negotiations about to be established. Patriotism, excited and suspicious, exclaimed, "here is the beginning of the most wicked treason." Selfishness and indifference saw with complacency the moment drawing near desired by them, although one of ignominious tranquillity. Interest and the spirit of revolution, considering that the strife from without had terminated, cried to hoarseness, but with contemptible bad faith, "war, war without truce." And last, the men of feeling and sincere lovers of their country, counting the inconveniences of peace and the dangers of war, viewed with impartiality and disinterestedly the sacrifices which both exacted from the nation, and after deep and bitter reflections deemed it preferable that Mexico should succumb to force rather than consent to a shameful peace. Peace, signed in these most terrible circumstances, would undoubtedly reduce her to a state of weakness and misery, and hereafter cause her entire ruin.

The government, in the meanwhile, pursued its preparations for negotiations; and, as soon as the armistice became ratified, they employed themselves in a junta of ministers in fixing the bases that should be submitted by our ministers in the conferences with the cabinet of Washington.

As the object of this chapter is to give an idea, although briefly, of what occurred during the armistice, and of the principal incidents of the negotiations, it is proper to make especial mention of those points that the minister of relations presented, and which the commissioners at the time of the conference proposed, approved by the President in a junta of ministers on the 24th.

In this deliberation two preliminaries were agreed upon: one of the smallest, or of no importance, being only relative to the place in which the conferences were to be held. The other, however, was of the great interest, since it treated of nothing less than that the American commissioner should make, above all things, a recognition of the right of deliberation on the part of Mexico. "If," says the article which is under discussion, "it has been the intention of the United States to increase their territory, why have they not rested with what they have occupied in fact? If that which they have sought at the capital is the sanction of the right by agreement, they ought to desist from what it is not desirable to concede, otherwise than what the contingencies may bring about, and the war shall be continued." For our commissioners, whoever they might be, to avail themselves of this confession, while attentive to the antecedents of the question and our circumstances, was, speaking impartially, a very difficult matter. But we shall see the other bases under which they should have treated.

The recognition of the independence of Texas: understanding by that the territory known by this name since the treaties of 1819, and when it formed the State of Coahuila y Texas, without agreeing, in any way, to the limits, which, it is said, the congress of Texas declared belonged to it.

To treat upon the other parts of the territory of the Republic, the evacuation should be required of all occupied by the enemy's forces and the raising of the blockade of our ports. If it might be expedient to negotiate respecting one of Upper California, for instance of San Francisco, it should be in the character of a possession, and never of limits, and without consenting to fixing in that upon the 26th degree of latitude from the immense loss which in this case would fall upon Mexico.

It was determined to agree to indemnities for the recognition of the independence of Texas, for the gate and road to Oregon, for the losses, damages, and expenses of the war, for the injuries to families and the properties of cities and individual places occupied by the American troops; and finally for the depredations committed by these and marauding parties with whose license and authority the rights of nations had been shamefully violated.

The amount to be liquidated could be paid in part by the sum due for former reclamations; the United States, morever, recognising the legality of the titles of owners to lands in Texas by concessions made prior to its declaration of Independence, as well by the general government, as also by the state, leaving the free use to them.

It may be said, also, that the United States were to agree to prohibit slavery in that part of the territory which they should definitively acquire.

This was a requisition just and rational, inspired by the refinement of our customs, by the spirit of our institutions, imperfect, perhaps, but in this more just than that neighboring Republic, and lastly, actuated by the philosophical principles of the age in which we live; principles of equality and manumission which the civilized and liberal North America with disgrace and censure on humanity has undertakan to oppose with the unfortunate African race.

Conformably to the instructions of which we have spoken, the treaty should extend over the base of possible reciprocity, mindful of the condition of both people. It could not stipulate less than one year for its definitive celebration, whose observance would become guaranteed in a common agreement by an European power, or by a continental congress, which would have for its base the republican system on all the continent except in the Empire of Brazil and French Guayana.

The principle of the most favored of nations should be preserved, which the Republic has conceded in the greater part of the treaties celebrated with foreign powers. Likewise under the circumstances the giving up of the Irish was required who, serving heroically in our ranks, had been taken prisoners; also the return of the ships and trophies: and prohibiting at once the entrance of every individual of the American army into the capital of Mexico, which in our opinion was in opposition to the stipulation in the 7th article of the armistice.

Lastly it was said, as a general basis, that they ought to treat of peace "as if they would have triumphed, and could have always carried on the war with success."

On the 25th, a note subscribed by Mr. Nicholas P. Trist was received in the department of relations, in which he made known that he was appointed commissioner by the United States of America, invested with full powers to negotiate with the Mexican government and to conclude a durable treaty of peace, friendship, and limits between both republics, and declaring that he was prepared to treat with the commissioners of Mexico, for which he requested that the day and place of meeting should be designated. To this it was answered on the next day, that the government were occupied in appointing the persons who were to hear the propositions which he, Mr. Trist, had to make, and that they would assemble at four in the evening of the 27th at the town of Atzcapotzalco, as an intermediate point between those held by the two armies; to which the American commissioner consented.

On the day before, the President, already in a junta of ministers, had appointed as commissioners Srs. General D. José Joaquin de Herrera, the magistrate D. Antonio Fernandez Monjardin and D. Antonio Garay, whose mission was then limited to hearing the propositions of peace which in the name of the United States they were trying to make to the Mexican government. The contents of these were to be transmitted so that they might determine on that which was suitable. The respective communications were in fact despatched. Sr. Herrera asked to be excused, but his excuse was not considered. It happened otherwise with Srs. Monjardin and

Garay; therefore, as soon as their reasons were admitted, the government thought of other individuals whom they could substitute for them. The commission at last was formed as follows: General D. José Joaquin Herrera, Lic. D. José Bernardo Couto, General D. Ignacio Mora y Villamil, Lic. D. Miguel Atristain, and in the capacity of secretary, D. José Miguel Arroya.

These being the commissioners, they definitively undertook a task as dangerous as difficult. It is not in our mind further than the special purpose to impress a few words respecting these persons. Without prejudices of any kind, free from all feeling favorable or adverse, and without a hope or a fear, we are going to venture an opinion which the reader may receive or reject according to his judgment and belief; and if he may censure us for our excessive audacity it does not signify; we shall pursue the dictates of our conscience.

General Herrera, a warrior of the national independence, a good patriot and disinterested citizen, had discharged on repeated occasions public trusts of the highest importance. When, in 1845, the persons most influential at the period taking measures in a far-seeing policy, attempted to close the differences between Mexico and the United States, by making Texas an independent nation and restraining as much as possible the strides of the cabinet of Washington, by making it the true counterpoise for the equilibrium of the two great nations of the American continent, Sr. Herrera was distinguished as the first magistrate. From this they considered him as the chief of the party which then was called *of peace*, and he was as unjustly as he was cruelly calumniated. For this, it was urged necessarily that this general should be excused from the commission at the head of which he was placed. But his excuses, as has been said, were not taken into consideration, being answered by the government, in terms sufficiently honorable, stimulating his patriotism and his constant desire to serve the Republic. But however great the virtues of Sr. Herrera may appear, or however pure his patriotism, impartial his-

LIC. COUTO

Ackermans lith 120 Fulton St N.Y.

tory requires it to be said that his intelligence is limited, and the mission confided to him was much above his abilities, since he is not versed in international rights. His appointment, therefore, was considered as an act having for its principal object to impart to the negotiations about to be established a certain respectability, by making conspicuous in them a man of the independence, a man who enjoyed a not unmerited reputation for integrity and virtue, and as a mark of impartiality, from his having been the leader of the enterprise of the 6th of December, 1844.

Sr. Couto was certainly the one who was to take upon himself the enormous weight of so difficult a commission. A good scholar, a studious lawyer, and a consummate counsellor, he had figured much in the political arena, and occupied a distinguished place among the most prudent and judicious of our deliberative assemblies. He had never been seen compromised in any political disturbance, and, perhaps, from this, in spite of his extensive knowledge, his facility of expression, and his irresistible reasoning, seldom had he ruled in the tribune, and never was he considered as the chief of any parliamentary clique.

But still this gentleman was deemed the most suitable for this mission. He was accused, and not without foundation, of being timid in the extreme. It was agreed, that if he were in fact a learned man, perfectly versed in civil and constitutional rights, he was not in the same way skilful in the rights of nations, and that he was absolutely deficient in diplomatic tact, so essential in this kind of affairs. But be it as it may, Sr. Couto fulfilled his duty, and the notes and documents which were drawn by him are indisputable evidence of his learning and a title of honor for our Republic.

Sr. Mora y Villamil, a sagacious man, of antecedent military, scientific, and political celebrity, but without being surpassed in any of these branches, thanks to his tactics, had been considered by all parties, and from the events of the Angostura, as an active partisan at the side of General Santa Anna. Thus it was, as has been mentioned, he was one of the commissioners for the celebration of the armistice; and now he was seen, even without any former diplomacy of any kind, to appear in the most delicate commission ever presented in our annals. Therefore many saw only in his appointment the addition of a topographical engineer, who could discuss questions purely of limits, which would be opened in the conferences with the American envoy. It was noted, moreover, that Sr. Mora, without reserve, manifested decidedly that he was for concluding a peace at any price.

Sr. Atristain, who was the last of the commissioners, was implicated as an agent of an English house compromised in grave affairs with the government, and the public rumor was, that he had been placed by the same influence in this commission, the issue of which was life or death for our country. Perhaps it was not so: but Sr. Atristain was conspicuous, on a former occasion, in our Congress, in having advocated in the national tribune and in sustaining an arrangement of the foreign debt, which afforded great advantages to this house. From that, therefore, whatever might be his talent and whatever his diplomatic acquirements, it was considered he was to be nothing more than a representative, more properly speaking, a hand of the same foreign house, probably interested in the signing of a peace, which would give to it the collection of large capitals, procured, perhaps, at little cost, and the prosecution of new and productive pecuniary business. Time, we do not doubt, will confirm this assertion, of which now already some entertain apprehensions.*

It remains for us only to speak of the secretary, the interpreter, whom perhaps we should not have touched, if it had not been said in an official manner that he did not exactly comply with his duty, conformably to the expression of the minister of relations at that time, in a public session of the National Congress.† Sr. Arroyo, instead of forming the protocols of the conferences according to the importance of the affair and the usual practice, limited himself to drawing notes, those which, in truth, were of no value, and in such form of no use to our cause.

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* This was written in Querétaro in December, 1847.

† Sitting in Querétaro in November of 1847.

The statements above have made us depart widely from the principal object of this chapter. We will take up anon the thread of events.

In the morning of the 27th, before the commissioners of both parties had their first conference, a very disagreeable affair happened to disturb the public tranquillity, and to provoke the opening of hostilities without the requisites stipulated in the armistice.

More than 100 wagons of the invading army, supported by the 7th article of the convention, penetrated to the principal streets of the city, to draw money from some foreign houses and to give to the troops the provisions of which they were in want. Our people, in whose imagination the sanguinary scenes of the days before were extremely fresh, and whom a just rancor against the invaders assisted, observed this act with indignation and soon resolved to avenge it. The apertures of the Plaza of the Constitution, where now some wagons were encountered, filled with people. A cloud of stones came down upon them and their drivers, and everywhere was heard the cry of "Let the Yankees die!"

The government took immediately its measures to restrain this riot. But when the multitude saw our lancers defending the Americans, their wrath increased: they called our soldiers "cowards," and there were not wanting those raising the cry of "Let Santa Anna die!" for they imputed it to him as a treason. This made the attempt of the authorities to be renewed, to stop the movement: but, far from accomplishing it, each moment the indignation and hatred were greater. The merchants preferred sacrificing their goods to selling them to the Americans. The stones flew, making some havoc; the drivers were frightened and trembling, and one of them, as if to inspire sympathy, did not cease repeating, "I am Catholic: I am Irish." On the other side, a woman of the low people threw a stone furiously at one of these men, in such a way that he tumbled over, seriously wounded. She, being seized by the agents of the police, exclaimed, with inexpressible phrensy, "I want to kill him, and to kill all of them: my poor son was killed by them, and now is my turn for vengeance: will we let them come to take and to eat? It is very unjust." It was requisite, in noticing her grief, to let her go at liberty.

The governor of the District, who was D. José Maria Tornel, believing that with his presence the commotion would be calmed, appeared, in fact, on the plaza, and ordered the crowd to retire; but they, far from obeying, ridiculed his authority.

This rising would have been attended with serious consequences if General Herrera had not presented himself with calmness and serenity in the midst of the multitude, reprehending this conduct and telling to the agitators, that they ought to be valiant on the field but to the defenceless humane. The tumult being hushed somewhat, it was ordered that the wagons should leave the city immediately, taking nothing of what they sought. They were blamed afterwards by the people, and their little regard for a treaty was thrown in their face. Unheard-of insensibility! The people acted from a right instinct, the people were indignant, the people finally desired to be revenged. The fault was that of the commissioners and the government, who had not calculated the results which their stupid concession could have. But nothing was left by the article except for them to fulfil their duty, since it was decided to be proper. Protected by the darkness of the night, the enemy drew what they needed from the capital, and what their agents had procured during the day. This being observed by the people one night they returned to raise a riot in the little plaza of San Juan de Lateran, and by the street Ancha, where were the depots of provisions of the American army; all of which were sacked.

In the same evening of the 27th, for the first time, the commissioners of both parties assembled in the town of Atzcapotzalco, and they exchanged their respective powers. Those of Mr. Trist were most ample, for in them the American government clothed him with full, and in all manner ample power and authority in the name of the United States, that he might negotiate and conclude an arrangement of the differences existing, and a treaty of peace, friendship, and limits, between the United States of America and the Mexican nation, regulating definitively all the subjects and affairs which might have connexion with or be interesting for both nations: reserving only after the concluding of whatever convention, its ratification by the President, and consent of the American Senate.

Our commissioners were confined, as was already indicated, to receiving the propositions of the cabinet of Washington, if they now came extended and drawn up; or to preserve them with the consent of the envoy in a memorandum, if they were made verbally. Mr. Trist observed at once this limitation, to whom was explained, that the moment for treating arriving they would present him a full authority. This having satisfied the American commissioner, he immediately delivered a project of a treaty, which was presented in pursuance to the President of the Republic.

In this first interview it was agreed that the following sessions should be held in the house called after the Inquisitor Alfaro, situated between Mexico and Tacubaya, and commencing on the following day.

We will see, before passing further, the project of the treaty presented by Mr. Trist.

"ART. 1.—There shall be a firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and villages, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities by sea and land shall definitively cease as soon as the ratifications of this treaty shall be made and exchanged by both parties.

"ART. 2.—All the prisoners of war made by both parties as well by sea as land, shall be returned as soon as practicable after the exchange of ratifications of this treaty. And further, if there be at present any Mexican citizens held captive by the Camanches or any other savage tribes of Indians within the limits of the United States, as the same are defined by this treaty, the Government of the United States will require the restoration of such captives, and their liberty to return to their homes in Mexico.

"ART. 3.—So soon as this treaty shall be duly ratified by the United Mexican States, it shall be made known without the least delay to the commanders of the forces both by sea and land, of both parties; and, in consequence, there shall be a suspension of hostilities as well by sea as by land, as well on the part of the military and naval forces of the United States as on those of the United Mexican States, and the said suspension shall be inviolably observed by both parties. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty all the forts, territories, places, and possessions whatsoever that may be, which have been taken by the United States from the United Mexican States during the war, except such as are comprehended within the limits of the United States, as the same may remain defined by Art. 4 of this treaty, shall be returned without delay, and without causing any destruction or extraction of artillery or any other public property whatever originally captured in said forts or places, and which remain in them when the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, and in the same manner all the forts, territories, &c.

"ART. 4.—The dividing line between the two republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, in front of the mouth of the Rio Grande; thence along the middle of said river to the point where it touches the southern line of New Mexico; thence westward along the southern limit of New Mexico to the southwest angle of the same; thence northward along the western line of New Mexico to where the same is cut by the first branch of the river Gila; if it be not cut by any branch of said river, then to a point in said line to nearest said branch, and thence in a direct line to the same, and downward by the middle of said branch and of the said river Gila, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence downward by the middle of the Colorado and by the middle of the Gulf of California to the Pacific Ocean.

"ART. 5.—In consideration of the extension of the limits of the United States as they are defined by the preceding article, and by the stipulations which are further contained in Art. 8, the United States abandon for ever against the United Mexican States all reclamation on account of the costs of the war, and besides agree to pay to the United Mexican States in the city of Mexico the sum of ——

"ART. 6.—In full consideration of the stipulations contained in Articles 4 and 8 of this treaty, the United States agree to assume and pay all sums at present due to claimants, and those which may be hereafter established, according to the convention concluded between the two Republics in the City of Mexico, on the 30th of January, 1843, to provide for the payment of what shall be decided in favor of the claimants, according to the convention between the United States and the Mexican Republic, of the 11th of April, 1830. And the United States agree to assume and pay all reclamations of citizens of the United States against the Government of the United Mexican States, not previously decided, to an amount not exceeding three millions of dollars, which have arisen prior to the 13th of May, 1846, and which shall be adjudged to be due by a commission established by the Government of the United States, whose decisions shall be definitive and conclusive, provided always, that in deciding on the validity of the said demands, the commission shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention concluded in the City of Mexico on the 20th of November, 1846; and in no case shall they give judgment in favor of any claim not embraced in those principles and rules. And the United States, for the present and the future, exonerate the United Mexican States from any of the demands, whatsoever, which may be admitted or rejected by said board of commissioners.

Art. 7.—If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners, or of the claimants, it shall be considered necessary for the decision of any of the said claims, that any books, registers, or documents, which may be in the possession or power of the United Mexican States, should be examined, the commissioners or claimants shall make, within a period to be fixed by congress, a petition to that effect, to the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs, which shall be forwarded to him by the Secretary of the United States; and the Mexican Government agree to remit, with as little delay as possible, after the receipt of said petition, whatever of said books, registers, or documents may be in its possession or power, which may have been asked for from the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately lay them before said board of commissioners, provided always, that where said petition shall be made by any of the claimants, the facts which they expect to prove by such books, registers, or documents, shall have been first stated under oath, or affirmation.

"Art. 8.—The Government of the United Mexican States hereby for ever concedes and guarantees to the Government and citizens of the United States, the right of transport across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, from sea to sea, by whatever means of communication may at the time exist, whether by land or water, free from all tolls or charges, all articles whatsoever, the natural products of the United States, or the products of its manufactures, or the products and manufactures of any country whatever, belonging to the Government or citizens of the United States, as well as the free right of passage to all citizens of the United States. The Government of the United Mexican States equally concedes and guarantees to the Government and citizens of the United States the same right of passage for their merchandise and the articles aforesaid, as it grants to its own citizens, by any railroad or canal which may hereafter be constructed across said Isthmus, whether by the Government of the United Mexican States, or by its authorization, paying only such tolls as may be established; and no other, or more onerous, shall be imposed or collected upon the articles or merchandise mentioned, belonging to the Government and citizens, for passage over said railroad or canal, than shall be charged or collected for the same articles or merchandise belonging to the Government or citizens of Mexico, being the natural products, or the products of the manufactures of Mexico, or whatsoever foreign country, or the persons of its citizens. None of the said articles, be they what they may, which may pass over said Isthmus, from sea to sea, in either direction, whether by the present communications, or by any railroad or canal which may hereafter be made, with the object of being transported to any port of the United States, or of any foreign country, shall be subject to the payment of any duty whatever, whether of importation or exportation. The two Governments by this article promise, with as little delay as possible, mutually to agree upon, and establish such regulations as may be deemed necessary to avoid fraud and smuggling, in consequence of the right of way hereby granted and perpetually guaranteed to the Government and citizens of the United States.

"ART. 9.—All the effects, commodities, or merchandise, which have been introduced during the war, by whatsoever port or place of either party, by the citizens or subjects of any neutral power, while the same has been in the military occupation of the other, shall be permitted to remain free from confiscation, or any charge or duty, which there may be on the sale or exchange of them, or on the exportation of said property from the country; and the proprietors are hereby permitted to sell or dispose of said property, in the same manner in every respect, as if the importation of the same had been made in time of peace, and had paid the duties according to the laws of each country, respectively.

"ART. 10.—The treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, concluded in the City of Mexico, on the 5th of April, in the year of our Lord, 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, and each of its articles, with the exception of the additional article, are hereby renewed, for the term of eight years from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, with the same effect and virtue as if they formed part thereof: it being understood that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said term of eight years, to terminate the same, giving one year's previous notice to the other party.

"ART. 11.—The treaty shall be approved and ratified by the President of the United States of America, with the approbation and consent of the Senate, and by the President of the United Mexican States, with the previous approbation of the General Congress; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the City of Washington, within the period of —— months from the date of the signing the same, or sooner if practicable."

It is not our object to enter, in this work, into the question of the convenience or inconvenience which the adoption of such a treaty produced. But it lost, as very soon is seen, the Mexican Republic, besides Texas, all New Mexico, a great part of Tamaulipas, another of Coahuila, and another of Chihuahua, the half of Sonora, both Californias, with those beautiful navigable rivers of these territories, and the dominion of the sea Bermejo* or the Gulf of California. Long and profound might be the reflections which upon this particular could be made. But leaving on our part to statists and philosophers the consideration of the result of a peace founded upon such basis, we will follow the thread of events, marking those acts the most distinguished.

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* Bermejo. Vermillion.—AM. ED.

In view of the propositions of the American plenipotentiary our government resolved upon some new instructions for our commissioners, in which it was said to be all essential that the commissioner of the United States should declare, finally, the motives of the war and the ends of it, and if the pretensions of that power were founded alone in the right of force. That it should be made clear whether Texas became in possession of the United States by the annexation or by purchase: that the Mexican government would not recognise any other title than that of negotiation: that it could not recognise greater limits than that of the province of Texas, without exceeding those to the east of the Nueces, drawing from this the possible advantages by giving for the settlement the debt to the United States acknowledged by Mexico; and this only the government would assist to negotiate since the proceeds of the lands could pay the United States at half the price fixed in its suitable regulations for the sale. Finally, all what the American plenipotentiary required was refused. Above all, acknowledgments were asked and it did not appear but that our troops had triumphed in two or three actions, according to the tenor of the instructions mentioned, those which many persons then deemed ridiculous, considering our circumstances.

The expressed instructions along with those which before had been resolved upon and the corresponding full power were remitted to our commissioners, with a note dated 30th of August, in which it was perceived that in nothing should they exceed what was fixed in those documents without previous authority from the government. The position of our plenipotentiaries was in truth very depressing. They were presented to contend with their hands tied, and, however great might be their skill, they necessarily had to make a paper quite inferior. Wherefore the commissioners on the subsequent day passed to the government a communication, in which they requested it might be granted for them to relinquish the part of plenipotentiaries, believing it to be their duty to declare at once with the candor of men of standing, that upon these bases and instructions it was impossible to recommend them to the negotiation, because they were met without the requisite capacity to act as was proper.

In consequence of this renunciation the President had a long conference with the commissioners, and so it resulted that a note was transmitted to them in which the resolution in a council of ministers was expressed to them, amplifying the instructions, but reconciling them to some modifications which the circumstances of the country demanded, and to the facilities with which the door of the same discussion might be opened. "In one word," concludes the note of the minister of relations, "the supreme government have chosen you as so many times the nation has chosen the same from the knowledge they have of your distinction and patriotism, and place in your hands the honor and interests of our country."

Wednesday, the 1st of September, was celebrated in the already mentioned house of Alfaro, by the third meeting of our commissioners with Mr. Trist. These exhibited the full powers which were conferred upon them, and entered into an extensive conference with the American envoy on the capital points contained in the project. After this conference and that of the subsequent day, Mr. Trist was evidently disposed to abandon his first pretension upon the Lower California and upon a part of Upper, by which we could communicate by land with Sonora, and offering if there remained no other point of difference for adjusting a peace, that what related to the territory which extended between the Bravo and the Nueces he would consult upon it with his government, with some hope of a favorable issue, if this step should but occasion a delay of forty and some days in the negotiation. But with respect to the cession which our Republic should make of the territory of New Mexico, it was a condition from which he could not depart nor even submit it to a new consultation in Washington, from the full conviction that he had of what his government considered it as a condition *sine quâ non* of the peace.

With this resolution there remained, so to speak, neutralized so many questions which were proposed, as much upon the principles of justice as upon the resistance of the inhabitants of that part of the Mexican Republic and their determination not to belong nor to join the United States. Consequently whatever reasons were expressed against this pretension were useless, since the American commissioner showed himself inflexible, notwithstanding those desires which he manifested to arrange definitively a peace between both nations.

Finally our commissioners returned to report to the government the state in which the mission existed and which was confided to them.

Numerous were the juntas in the halls of the Palace; the opinions and suggestions were heaped on one another. It was calculated with a chart spread out what was the territorial loss of the Republic; some rejected with indignation the suggestions, cold calculations of others; they spoke of the resources on which the government counted for the prosecution of the war, and of the positive injuries which peace would bring. Sr. Couto designated with calmness what was the dividing line offered by Mr. Trist, and explained that this commissioner proposed prolonging the armistice for forty-five days so that he might consult on the point indicated with his government. But he as well as General Scott supported the admission of the line proposed. The idea of extending the armistice attracted the attention of the minister of relations who characterized it as a snare to collect more forces during these forty-five days, by supposing those insufficient which the enemy had. He declared it was necessary to chastise the American pride: that with a uniform and general patriotic force they could gain a triumph which would occupy a brilliant page in the history of our country, and concluded with the remark that he would never sign the peace which was asked.

The President flattered these ideas, since, he said, called to the Republic for its defence he was resolved to follow its will and a continuation of the hostilities.

Others discussed with more calmness the value of the means with which the war was to be continued. They thought that the fear of the minister of relations could be calmed with the articles which were stipulated for the prolongation of the armistice; and for this reason the time proposed should be accepted, the more since in the meantime it would serve for our troops overcome to recover their morale. Others added various reasons; and at last, mindful of the gravity of the subject, the convocation of a junta of persons of learning was proposed: and among others Sres. Alaman, Gomez Pedraza, and Rodriguez Puebla. This idea was generally received, and especially supported by Sr. Herrera, whence it became settled for a convocation of the junta.

Unfortunately, this assembly from which so much good might have been drawn, did not take place from influences that induced the mind of the President to refuse this suggestion. Fatal influence, whose terrible consequences never shall be sufficiently lamented.

In consequence the government transmitted to our commissioners a note, dated 5th of September, in which it was definitively communicated, that the government would not consent to a prolongation of the armistice, nor less to the cession of New Mexico, whose inhabitants in so many ways had manifested their will to remain united to the Mexican Republic. "In New Mexico," concluded the note we allude to, "and in the few leagues which intervene between the right of the Nueces and the left of the Bravo, is peace or war. If [illegible] commissioner of the United States will not leave to the Mexican [illegible]overnment more to choose than between this cession and death, in vain its government rules it: henceforth he can be assured what will be the answer. If, likewise, the United States have made their election, and prefer violence, or our humiliation, it shall be they who will answer to God and to the world."

In view of this resolution taken in the junta of ministers, our commissioner formed the following counter project:—

"1st.—There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and their respective territories, cities, towns, and villages, not excepting persons or places.

"2d.—All the prisoners of war made on either side, whether by sea or land, shall be released immediately after the signing of the present treaty. It is also agreed, that if any Mexicans are now captives in the power of any Indian tribe within the limits ceded by the 4th article to the United States, the government of said United States shall exact their release, and that they be restored to liberty and to their homes in Mexico.

"3d.—Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, all the forts, places, and possessions, which may have been taken or occupied during this present war, within the limits fixed by the 4th article for this Republic, shall be restored to the Mexican Republic. In like manner shall be restored the artillery, arms, and ammunition that were in all the castles and strongholds, when they fell into the power of the troops of the United States. With respect to the artillery taken outside of the said castles and fortified places, that which is still in the power of the United States troops shall be returned to Mexico at the date of the signing of the present treaty.

"4th.—The dividing line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the southern mouth of the bay of Corpus Christi, shall run in a straight line from within the said bay to the mouth of the river Nueces: thence through the middle of that river in all its course to its source: from the source of the river Nueces shall be traced a straight line until it meets the present frontier of New Mexico, on the east-south-east side: it shall then follow the present boundary of New Mexico on the east, north, and west, until this last touches the 37th degree: which will serve as a limit for both Republics from the point in which it touches the said frontier of the west of New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The government of Mexico promises not to found any new settlements or establish colonies in the tract of land which remains between the river Nueces and the Bravo del Norte.

"5th.—As a just compensation for the extension of their old limits which the United States acquire by the previous article, the government of said United States is bound to pay over to the Republic of Mexico the sum of ————, which shall be placed in the city of Mexico at the disposal of the said government of the Mexican Republic, in the act of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty.

"6th.—The government of the United States is further bound to take upon itself, and satisfy fully, the claimants to all the instalments which are due up to this time, and may become due in future by reason of the claims, now liquidated and decided against the Mexican Republic, agreeably to the conventions arranged between the two Republics on the 11th of April, 1839, and 30th of January, 1843, in such manner that the Mexican Republic shall have absolutely no further payment to make on account of said claims.

"7th.—The government of the United States is also bound to take upon itself, and pay fully, all the claims of its own citizens, not yet decided against the Mexican Republic, whatever may be the title or motive from which they may proceed, or on which they are founded: so that from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty the accounts of every kind that exist, or may be supposed to exist, between the government of Mexico and the citizens of the United States shall remain settled definitively and for ever.

"8th.—In order that the government of the United States may be able to satisfy, in observance of the previous article, the claims not yet decided of its citizens against the Mexican Republic, there shall be established by the government of the said United States a tribunal of commissioners, whose decisions shall be conclusive and definitive; provided, that, in deciding on the validity of any demand, it may be adjusted by the principles and rules which were established in the articles 1st and 5th of the convention (not ratified) which was concluded in Mexico on the 20th of November, 1843: and in no case shall a decision be given in favor of any claim which is not adjusted pursuant to the aforesaid rules. If the tribunal of commissioners deem it necessary for the just decision of any demand to examine books, registers, or documents, which are in the power of the Mexican government, the government of the United States shall make application for them, and either the originals or faithful copies shall be sent to it for the purpose of being, as they may, communicated to the said tribunal: it being understood that there shall not be made by the government of the United States any application for the said books, registers, or documents, until it shall be specified in each case, under oath, or with judicial sanction on the part of the claimant in the case, the facts sought to be proved with such books, registers, or documents.

"9th.—All the temples, houses, and edifices, dedicated to the rites or exercises of the Catholic worship, in territories belonging hitherto to the Mexican Republic, and which, by the 4th article of this treaty, will be within the limits of the United States, shall remain dedicated to the same rites and exercises of the Catholic religion, without any change, and under the special protection of the laws. The same shall be the case with all property, movable and immovable, which, within the said territories, is dedicated to the support of the Catholic worship, or the support of schools, hospitals, and other establishments of charity or benevolence. Finally, the relations and communications of the Catholics, living in the same territories, with their respective ecclesiastical authorities, shall be frank, free, and without any embarrassment, even though the said authorities have their residence within the limits which remain subject to the Mexican Republic in this treaty; nor shall there be any demarcation of ecclesiastical districts, except conformably to the laws of the Catholic Church.

"10th.—The Mexicans residing in territory heretofore belonging to Mexico, and now in the limits of the United States, may at any time return to the Mexican Republic, preserving in the said territory the property they possess: may transfer and convey its value wherever it suits them, without, on this account, being liable to the exaction, by the United States, of any kind of contribution, tax, or impost. If the persons here treated of prefer to remain in the territories they now inhabit, they may preserve the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or at once acquire the title and rights of citizens of the United States, if they wish it. But in all cases they and their property shall enjoy the most ample security.

"11th.—All the grants of lands made by Mexican authorities in territories belonging heretofore to the Republic, and by this treaty to be for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be valid and permanent, and shall be sustained and guarded for ever by the Government of the said United States.

"12th.—The Republic of the United States promises solemnly, not to permit hereafter the annexation of any district, or territory comprehended in the limits, which by the present treaty are assigned to the Mexican Republic. This solemn agreement has the character of a condition from the territorial cessions which Mexico now makes to the Republic of North America.

"13th.—All goods now in the Mexican ports occupied by the North American troops shall pay the duties established by the tariff of the Mexican Republic, provided they have not before paid duties to that Republic: but they shall not incur the penalty of confiscation.

"14th.—The Government of the United States shall satisfy, according to just terms, the claims of Mexican citizens for the injury sustained in their affairs by the North American troops.

"15th.—The present treaty shall be ratified, &c."

This counter project was delivered to Mr. Trist on the day of the 6th, with a note of our commissioners, a document of more importance, and which we must preserve in these notes. It says thus:—

"*To his Excellency Señor D. Nicholas P. Trist, Commissioner, with full powers, of the government of the U. States, near the government of the Republic of Mexico.*

"*House of Alfaro, at Chapultepec, Sept.* 6, 1847.

"The undersigned, commissioners of the Mexican republic, to form with you an agreement of peace, placing in your hand the counter *projet* which they have formed in accordance with the last instructions of their government, deem it opportune to accompany it with the observations which this note contains, which will serve to show more clearly the pacific disposition of Mexico in the contest which unfortunately divides both countries.

"Article 4 of the *projet* which you were pleased to deliver to us on the evening of the 27th ultimo, and which was discussed at our previous conferences, imports the cession of part of Mexico. 1st. The State of Texas; 2d. Of the territory without the limits of the said state, which extends to the left bank of the Bravo and to the southern boundary of New Mexico; 3d. All New Mexico; 4th. Of the two Californias.

"The war which now exists has been caused solely on account of the territory of the State of Texas, to which the republic of North America presents as a title the act of the same state by which it annexed itself to the North American confederacy, after having proclaimed its independence of Mexico. The Mexican republic agreeing (as we have manifested to you that it does), on account of the owing indemnity, to the pretensions of the government at Washington to the territory of Texas, the cause of the war has disappeared, and it should cease, since all the reasons for continuing it have ceased to exist. In regard to the other territories comprehended in the 4th article of your *projet*, until now the republic of North America has urged no claim, nor did we believe it possible that any could be alleged. It then could not acquire them but by right of conquest, or by that which would result from sale or cession, to which it would now force Mexico. But as we are persuaded that the republic of Washington would not only absolutely repel but would hold in odium the first of these titles; and as, on the other hand, it would be a new thing that war should be made upon a people for the simple reason that it refuses to sell a territory which its neighbor wishes to purchase; we hope, from the justice of the government and people of North America, that the great modification which we have to propose of the cession of territory (without the State of Texas) which is claimed in the said article 4, will not be considered a motive for continuing a war which the worthy general of the North American forces has justly characterized as *uncommon* (*desnaturalizada*).

"In our conferences we have declared to you that Mexico cannot cede the belt of land comprehended between the left bank of the Bravo and the right of the Nueces. The reason of this is not only the full certainty that the stated territory never has belonged to the State of Texas, nor that it is of great value considered in itself. It is that this zone with the Bravo at its back forms the natural frontier of Mexico as much in a military as in a commercial point of view; and of no people should it be claimed, nor should any people consent to abandon such a frontier. But, in order to remove all cause of dissension for the future, the government of Mexico binds itself not to found new settlements or establish colonies in the space between the two rivers; in this manner preserving it in the depopulated state in which it now exists, presenting equal security to both republics. The preservation of this territory is, according to our instructions, a condition *sine quâ non* of peace. Sentiments of honor and delicacy (which your noble character will cause you to estimate properly) more than a calculation of interest, prevent our government from consenting to the dismemberment of New Mexico. On this point we believe it to be superfluous to add anything to what we have already stated to you in our conferences.

"The cession of Lower California, little profitable to North America, offers great embarrassments, considering the position of that peninsula, opposite our coasts of Sonora, from which it is separated by the gulf of Cortez.

"You have given to our observations on this subject their true value, and we have learned with satisfaction that you have been convinced by them.

"Besides the preservation of Lower California it would be necessary for Mexico to retain a portion of the Upper; otherwise, that peninsula would remain without land communication with the remainder of the republic, which would always be a great embarrassment, especially for a non-maritime power such as Mexico. The cession of the part of Upper California offered by our government (for the compensation) will not bring to the United States merely fertile lands and intact mineral wealth, but presents the advantage of an uninterrupted communication with its territories of Oregon. The wisdom of the government of Washington and the energy of the American people will know how to draw abundant fruits from the acquisition which we now offer them.

"In article 8 of your *projet* the concession of a free passage by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the southern sea is claimed in favor of the North Americans. We have verbally stated to you that some years have elapsed since the government gave a privilege of this kind to a particular individual, who afterwards transferred it, with the authority of the same government, to English subjects, of whose rights Mexico cannot dispose. You will not complain, therefore, that in this point we cannot accede to the desires of your government.

"We have entered into this ingenuous explanation of the motives of the republic for not ceding all the territory beyond the boundaries of Texas which is required of it, because we desire that the government and North American people should be convinced that our partial negative does not proceed from sentiments of aversion generated by the events of this war, or by what it has caused Mexico to suffer, but only from considerations dictated by reason and justice, and which would equally influence it at any time with the most friendly people, and in the midst of relations of the strictest amity. The other alterations which you will find in our counter *projet* are of less importance, and we believe that to them you will find no important objection. The contents of article 12 have been already spoken of in your country; we flatter ourselves that your government will not refuse to contract an obligation so conformable to honor and to the harmony in which two neighboring people should live.

"Peace between the two countries will be most solemnly established, if a foreign power (England), which has in the present contest so nobly interposed its good offices, would now consent to guarantee the faithful observance of the treaty which may be entered into. The government of Mexico understands that it would be convenient to solicit this guarantee.

"Our government has commanded us to recommend to you that your decision upon the counter *projet* which we have the honor to submit to you should be communicated within three days.

"The salutary work of peace cannot, in our opinion, come to a happy termination, if each one of the contending parties should not resolve to abandon some of its original pretensions. This has in all cases happened, and all nations have not hesitated in such cases to make great sacrifices to extinguish the desolating flame of war. Mexico and the United States have special reasons for acting in this manner. Not without sorrow ought we to confess that we are giving to humanity the scandalous example of two Christian people of two republics, in the view of all the monarchies, who, for a dispute concerning boundaries, mutually do themselves all the injury that is possible, when we have more land than is sufficient to populate and cultivate in the beautiful hemisphere in which Providence has cast our lot. We venture to recommend these considerations to your excellency before you may take any definitive resolution on our propositions. We do ourselves the honor to offer to you our attention and respect.

"José Joaquin De Herrera,
"Bernardo Couto,
"Ignacio Mora y Villamil,
"Miguel Atristain."

Mr. Trist received this document, and without more discussion, offered to answer it on the subsequent day, the 7th of September, but it was not thus. In another chapter it will be seen the time when the said answer was received by our government.

Thus, therefore, the note which we have inserted put an end to the diplomatic conferences at the house of Alfaro. If they had not a favorable result posterity will know who ought to be blamed.

During these negotiations there were three events which we deem indispensable to relate, although slightly, before speaking of the opening of hostilities.

One of these was the deportment of the representative of the King of Prussia, who as soon as the armistice was signed, addressed the government, manifesting an interest which our unfortunate Republic inspired as well as a cordial desire that animated him for the concluding of peace, and offering, in case it were necessary, his good services. The noble and generous conduct of this minister is worthy of the lasting gratitude of the Mexicans.

The two others are not so pleasantly recalled; since they revealed our intestine discords, making known to the world that not even in the most unfortunate moments and of the greatest peril for our country, when all Mexicans should have presented themselves united to sustain our most sacred rights, we rose to declare our resentments, and not to curb our passions. We speak of the bitter correspondence between the governor of the State of Mexico and the Minister of Relations growing out of the events of Padierna, accusing as a traitor to the country the President of the Republic. We desire to say nothing upon this; but we can do no less than submit that the occasion for raising this cry and exciting such suspicions was the least suitable.

On the 6th the President received a note from General Scott, in which with great haughtiness he said that the armistice had been violated on the part of Mexico: that consequently, his army had the right to renew hostilities without any previous announcement, but that he would concede the necessary time for an explanation, a satisfaction and a reparation if they were possible, "since on the contrary," he said, "I myself declare formally that if I do not receive a complete satisfaction on all these charges before twelve to-morrow the stipulated armistice shall be considered as terminated after that hour."

The same day the President answered, declaring that on the part of Mexico the armistice had not been violated, but the violation had been on the side of the American army. "Silence has been preserved until now," General Santa Anna said, "so as not to paralyse a negotiation which afforded hopes of terminating a shameful war, and which Your Excellency has characterized so justly with the name of uncommon. But I shall not dwell upon offering apologies, because it is not concealed from me that the true, the undisguised cause for the threats of opening hostilities contained in Your Excellency's note is my not being prepared to subscribe a treaty which impairs considerably, not only the territory of the

Republic, but also the dignity and honor that nations defend at all hazard. And if these considerations do not possess equal weight in the mind of Your Excellency yours will be the responsibility before the world, which readily will perceive whose is the part of moderation and justice."*

From thence commenced anew preparations for war. The tocsin sounded for the sudden onset, and everywhere was heard the noise of arms. The scenes which followed were of blood and horror; their terrible reminiscence will pass to our most remote posterity, and perchance never will there reign a real peace between Mexico and the United States.

Victor Hugo, as an excellent compendium to French history, makes use of the following words of the ingenious and intelligent Philip de Comines: "God has not created anything in this world, neither men nor beasts, that they may act contrary to their nature so as to force them to fear and humility. For this he made France and England neighbors."

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* General Scott was apprised that Santa Anna was violating the armistice in many particulars, and several facts had come to his knowledge. He therefore accused him of dishonorable conduct. What was his astonishment, then, when Santa Anna retorted and gave instances of violations on the part of the Americans! As these, however, had occurred in the vicinity of Jalapa, Scott knew nothing of them, and although still supposing the accusations to be false, he was indignant at some highly meritorious officers suffering themselves to be implicated in them.

After the taking of the city of Mexico, General Scott in a general order alluded to these with an expression still of unbelief; but concluded with a condemnation of such conduct, and adding that he would not tolerate what must bring disgrace on himself, on the American army, and the United States. This finally led to a Court of Inquiry. The officers whose names were mentioned were found innocent of all participation in the disturbances. There were, however, some causes of complaint.

In fact, at Puebla the armistice was not much respected by the Mexicans; and at Jalapa, where the supposed violations originated, was scarcely known to exist by either party. The charge at best was a matter only fit for the investigation of some sitting magistrate instead of the President of "the illustrious and magnanimous Republic."—Am. Ed.

With more reason even we can say that our history is written to declare with this only that Mexico and the United States are neighbors. At least France and England are separated by the British Channel; between us and our neighbor there exists no other landmark than a simple mathematical line. . . . . God save the Republic!

CHAPTER XXI.

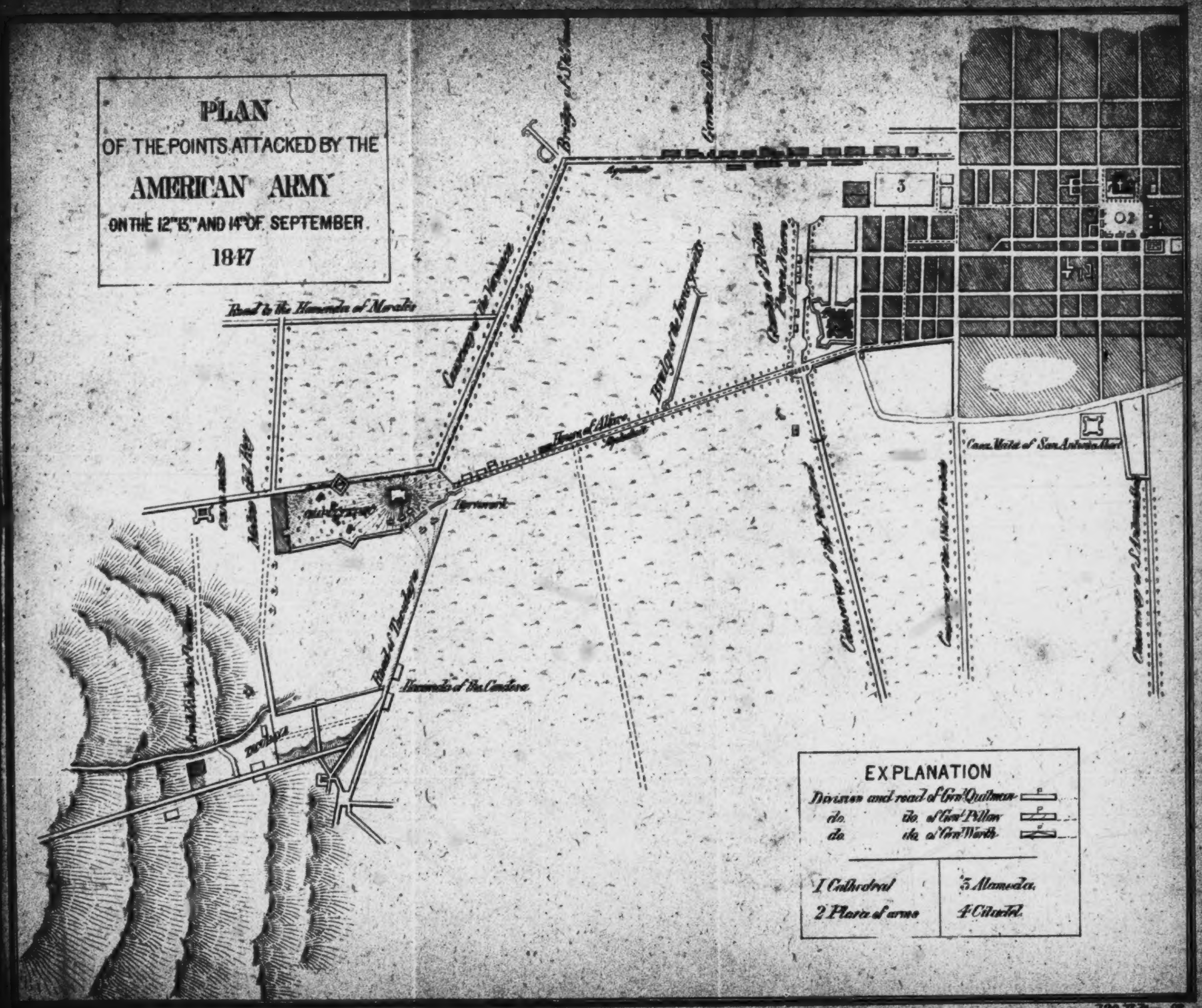
EL MOLINO DEL REY.

The diplomatic negotiations, of which we have endeavored to give some idea to our readers in the preceding chapter, were interrupted, so to speak, by the painful narration which we have seen, forcing us to continue the series of misfortunes which were in these times, and may hereafter be of perpetual memory.

It is proper to lead the reader to the battles. The sad mission of history is to roam particularly through bloody fields, in the midst of the smoke of the combatants and the loud roar of the cannon.

General Scott, officially given on the part of the United States, assigned that the armistice was broken, on the side of General Santa Anna, by ordering works of fortifications to be made in the city and its environs. We, as well as the government at the time, believed that, on the part of the Americans, they had not kept the good faith that was due; that, filled with pride from their victories, and not desiring to lose the occasion which was presented to them of finishing, as they said, the conquest of the halls of the Moctezumas, were preparing for the attack, and had selected that point offering the greatest difficulties and resistance; for, once conquered, the city would fall naturally into their power.

The official reports presented to the Congress of the United States give no other light. General Scott, misinformed evidently, believed that in the Moline del Rey, where was established a cannon foundry, there existed considerable material of war. The order, No. 95, of General Scott provided expressly for the assault on the buildings of the Molino del Rey and the Casa Mata, the destroying of all the material met with, and the operation being concluded, they were to



return to their quarters in Tacubaya. It appears that to this plan General Worth disagreed, but he had finally to obey.

Observing these slight antecedents, the reader will accompany us, so to say, in the days of the 7th and 8th of September of 1847.

The negotiations being once broken, the enemy selected a ground for the combat, which all of us Mexicans would designate as favorable and where always patriotism and enthusiasm would give us a triumph.

The city presented an imposing aspect, and the tremulous agitation was noticed which precedes great events. The bell of the cathedral resounded with a dismal and prolonged groan: the police redoubled their preparations, and a marked contrast was observed between those, who, diligent and active patriots, co-operated for the defence of Mexico with the heroism of Numantia or Saragossa, and the selfish or frightened, who made ready to fly, disheartening all with their most fatal and gloomy predictions.

General Santa Anna, highly indignant at the humiliations to which the Americans had attempted to subject the nation, had held, a few days before, a junta of chiefs in the Palace, in which it was decided that the defence should not be limited to the interior of the city, but that the troops should sally out to seek the enemy. Adding, then, the resolution of the American general to destroy the foundry to the resolution of the President of the Republic, it would give for a result a battle, and exactly a battle in the low hills of Tacubaya.

We will pass a moment to the ground. To the west of the cerro* of Chapultepec there is an edifice known by name of the Molino del Rey, divided into two sections by an aqueduct. One section is a flour mill, known for a few years in this part by the name of the Salvador: and the other, the ancient powder mill. At the period of which we are about to speak, it was devoted to the casting of cannon. Beyond where these buildings are found it was entirely uncovered. They confined themselves to joining these edifices, which, although in ruins, are of tezontle and hewn stone,* to the North, with a causeway called of Anzures, which inclines to that named the Veronica; and to the South the walls of the same edifices, which face the fields and hills of Tacubaya.

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* In a former note to Chap. III. a cerro has been described. It is difficult to precisely give it a definition. It is something more than a hill, and it is something less than a mountain. However, it has with Americans generally received the latter name.—Am. Ed.

This vast edifice which we have described has its front much sunken, inclining to the ground, and is vulgarly called the Lomas del Rey.† It is properly an extensive table, with very few inequalities, studded with hills of slight elevation, which ultimately terminate, leaving to view a part of the picturesque cordellerias that run round the valley of Mexico.

To the North-west of the mills there is another isolated building which was designed for depositing the powder, and is called Casa Mata. This is of tezontle and lime, of a square form, surrounded with a small ditch and some defective works of fortification, which, although increased at this time, presented a very weak resistance.

These buildings were protected by the fire of the Castle of Chapultepec, that was crowned with cannon.

We will look how the line of battle was established on this ground.

An oblique line was formed: the left resting in the edifices of the mills, the right in the Casa Mata, and the centre in a shallow, dry

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* Tezontle is a soft, porous, red stone, easily worked, and readily procured in the cerros of the Valley of Mexico.—AM. ED.

† Lomas del Rey—The Hills of the King. With all due deference this name is given to all the space West, and not far from the Molino, but not to the building itself. It is confounding the name of the place with the name of the mill. They might as well call the Palace, the Plaza. Nor is it, moreover, in such ruins as it is represented in the original. An iron foundry and flour mill are not often located in ruins. On a careful perusal of the sentence some important word seems omitted. Perhaps it was intended to add *the place* when speaking of the locality.—AM. ED.

GENERAL LEON

Ackerman's lith 120 Fulton St. N.Y.

ditch, that placed under shelter the troops from part of the fire which the enemy could make.

The forces that covered this line of battle, according to order 6 and 7 of Santa Anna, and the correctness of which we are perfectly sure from the different accounts we have acquired, were the following:—

In the mills, the left of the line: the brigade of General Leon, composed of the battalions of National Guards of Liberty, Union, Querétaro, and Mina. This troop was reinforced on the morning of the 7th by the brigade of General Rangel.

In the Casa Mata, the right of the line: the 4th Light and the 11th of the line, that formed the brigade of Brevet General Perez.

On the intermediate ground between the mills and Casa Mata, was the centre of the line: the brigade of General Ramirez, formed of the battalions, 2d Light, Fijo de Mexico, and 1st and 2d of the line with 6 pieces of artillery.

The reserve, composed of the battalions 1st and 3d Light, was in the woods of Chapultepec.

The force which had to decide for us the battle was the cavalry, consisting of 4,000 men.

This force was posted in the hacienda of the Morales, at less than one league from Chapultepec.

On the evening of the 7th, General Santa Anna ordered that the cavalry would take post within musket shot of the Casa Mata, with the necessary instructions that they should operate with decision in breaking the left flank of the enemy. The ground, if it were not absolutely level, was, at least, sufficiently practicable to execute the breaking with success.

General Santa Anna himself placed these forces with the tranquillity and confidence in which he expected a victory with a belief that was blind. With regard to General Alvarez he was most minute in his instructions, even to marking the ground where he should diminish his front. As well in this act do we perceive as in general his dispositions were not only applauded but characterized as good and proper. It ought to be added to this, that the harmony which existed between the troops of the line and the National Guards, and the enthusiasm of all the defenders of the capital was displayed in a striking manner, when a column of the enemy was divided in the road which leads from Tacubaya to the hills. Such was the order and confidence prevailing in our line that the commandante of the 3d Light of infantry marked, in front of his soldiers, the distance of a musket shot, directing that until the enemy arrived at that spot they should not fire.

In the evening the encampment was a paseo.* General Santa Anna surrounded with his adjutants rode to all the points of the line of battle, receiving applause.

Until this, not one measure could be noticed which was not proper. In what follows, the reader, by a simple and true narration only of the events, will know the errors committed.

At nightfall, on the 7th, this line of battle, so admirably formed, was destroyed in part. General Santa Anna ordered various corps of the right, centre, and left, to pass the night at different points.

In the Casa Mata there remained two corps, the 4th and the 11th, of the brigade of General Rangel, one part was situated in the house of Alfaro, on the causeway from Mexico to Chapultepec, and the other entered the capital. The 3d Light slept in Chapultepec.

The 6 pieces of artillery of the centre of the line were posted in a magueyal† fronting the mill, remaining during the night absolutely without a guard in spite of the energetic attention and cautions of General Carrera, who was persuaded of the fact and consequences of the grievous fault or the inconceivable neglect.

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* A paseo is a public avenue for the amusement of walking, riding, driving, and gaiety of all kinds.—Am. Ed.

† A magueyal is a field of the growing magueys. The American soldiers called them "pulque bushes," and no better description can be given. —Am. Ed.

Now it was known perfectly that the line of battle in the night was not equal to what it was in the evening.

Let us turn now to the American army. General Scott had established his head-quarters in Tacubaya, and there was given the order, No. 95, which we have mentioned at the beginning, by which he directed to attack the positions of the Molino and Casa Mata.

We must correct this, for even we have heard many say that the battle originated only from a reconnoissance which the enemy attempted to make of Chapultepec.

The brigade commanded by General Worth, to whom was intrusted this affair, was reinforced by three companies of heavy dragoons of 270 men, by 2 pieces of light artillery, by two 24-pounders, and the brigade of General Cadwalader, composed of 780 men. The whole force with which the enemy undertook the attack was 3,500 infantry, 8 pieces of artillery, and 300 horse.

Thus, while the Americans had strengthened their force to form their line of battle, ours had weakened considerably.

The Americans had limited themselves on the 7th to a reconnoissance which Captain Mason, of the Engineers, practised with 20 dragoons.

On the 8th, at three in the morning, they placed their forces and artillery in the following order:—

The 2 pieces of 24-pounders, commanded by Captain Huger on an elevated piece of ground, opened upon our left flank at a distance of 500 yards from the mills. This battery completely commanded the position and levelled that which we have mentioned situated outside of the buildings.

The two field pieces were posted on another small eminence which commanded the public road from Tacubaya to Chapultepec, and at the same time annoyed the mills.

The battery of six pieces of Colonel Duncan's was placed upon the plain in front of the Casa Mata, and in position to molest the mills, the Casa Mata, or our cavalry, who threatened them by the flank.

At a small distance from this line was the reserve disposed to assist where necessity required.

Having examined the ground, and placed the two belligerent forces in their respective positions, the battle ought to commence.

Thus in effect it succeeded. At the dawn of day on the 8th the enemy's battery of 24-pounders broke fire upon the mill and the artillery of Chapultepec answered.

The enemy placed a column of assault composed of some 1000 men and protected by the 24-pounder battery advanced at charge step. To this column followed at a little distance the light battalion under Colonel Smith, and both forces with decision and firmness marched to the front of the mills.

The troops belonging to the brigade of General Leon were distributed on the azoteas and in the aqueduct. As soon as the Americans were at a good distance a vigorous fire of musketry opened upon them.

But as we have ascertained, a large part of our troops who should have covered our line was not found in it, nor had the artillery the force which should have sustained it. The column of assault came to the point where the battery was which we have said and was in a magueyal fronting the mills. Three of our pieces were taken; and breaking forth in hurras for their easy victory they retired in haste with their trophies undoubtedly to invest anew, since, as we have said, they had the order to take the position in full force.

The batteries of Chapultepec followed playing with accuracy upon the first line of battle of the enemy as we have already described.

The 3d Light regiment commanded by Colonel D. Miguel Echagaray, who, hereafter the reader will remember, was posted in the night in Chapultepec without our having learned the reasons wherefore the order was given. He now appeared in the mills at the moment in which the enemy had taken our pieces.

Echagaray, valiant, patriotic, and desirous of distinction, harangued the soldiers, animated them, gave them an example, and the victorious column, with more than 800 men was met, attacked quickly by 500 of this good Mexican infantry, which, when it has been led to action by officers of the highest honor and military capacity has gained the greatest eulogies from the enemy themselves.

The American column disturbed at once by this onset retreated precipitately. The 3d Light pursued them making a vivid fire. The enemy abandoned the pieces. Our soldiers, in ecstasies of enthusiasm, made a horrible slaughter among the assailants and came actually to musket range of the enemy's line of battle.

But this troop which possessed such a brilliant deportment was met without being supported. The right wing battered by the artillery of Duncan and threatened by a formidable column, could not lend any assistance. The force in reserve did not appear on the field of battle, and the numerous cavalry cold spectators of the conflict attempted, but did not make any movement upon the enemy. General D. Simeon Ramirez, who commanded the centre of the line, and who ought to have sided with his force either to the right or to the left, supposing that he was not attacked, appeared one moment in the mills, but abandoned the field of battle, and he was not seen to return more in this important affair of arms which could very well have been decided in favor of the Republic. D, Carlos Brito, another chief whose position and command in the battle were important, went to remain in the villa of Guadalupe, without our knowing the motive. Echagaray, who preserved sufficient cool blood to calculate the events, saw himself compromised at a great distance from our positions, and surrounded by numerous forces of the enemy. He ceased to pursue the column, and retired collecting the pieces of artillery, and the troop, a multitude of spoils; a circumstance which united to this momentary triumph intoxicated these good soldiers with delight, who cleaned their arms with pride: and in the cloud of smoke which was rising slowly over these smiling fields, were rising also the cries of enthusiasm and rejoicing, and repeated by the troops who guarded the Casa Mata.

We must remember to add that in retiring the 3d Light lost some men from the bad aiming of the soldiers who held the aqueduct. The reader whom we wish to pay in full even with subjects the most minute will notice that this affair of arms could only be said to be accidental, and no command or order of a General-in-chief intervened nor a combination which naturally some points should have with others on a field of battle.

This first success changed the dispositions of the Americans and the line of battle took a second position.

Reinforced again they organized their forces in the manner following:—

One column, increased by the reserve of the brigade of General Cadwalader, was directed anew upon the mills.

Another upon the front of the Casa Mata.

And a third took a diagonal line to the North to attack an angle of the same Casa Mata.

The battery, of 4 pieces, of Duncan was advanced placing it in the prolongation of the head of the angle, that is, likewise in a direction diagonal to the Casa Mata, and in position to fire on the cavalry.

The companies of dragoons were sent against our cavalry, and the 2d light pieces advanced to batter the aqueduct.

In the meanwhile our forces once more occupied their positions. But our line was neither more reinforced by this, nor was the reserve found ready to support the point most warmly attacked: and the cavalry, vacillating, was not decided to co-operate for a favorable issue of the second onset, as they had not done in the act before, with which we have been occupied.

The batteries of both sides had not ceased to play; but the noise of the musketry paused for one moment, and the smoke dispersing permitted the enemy's columns to be seen advancing again upon the mills and Casa Mata, in the order which we have described.

The battle commenced a second time, and in spite of the disadvantage already in our line was noted in all the infantry, here in the National Guard and there in the line, nothing but enthusiasm the most ardent, and the most animated desire to combat.

The column that assaulted the mills was received, as in the first time, with a horrible fire of musketry.

The troops were posted in the aqueduct and in the azoteas. Moreover, in that were placed some forces of the 3d Light, with 1 piece of artillery; and behind a shallow ditch, along whose margin were planted some magueys, Colonel Echagaray collected some skirmishers, who considerably annoyed the enemy.

The Americans turned this time, if they did not retreat: at least they hesitated in the attempt.

The second column, under Colonel Mackintosh, protected, as we ascertained, by the battery of Duncan, advanced resolutely to the Casa Mata.

The Mexican troops who garrisoned it could not contain their enthusiasm, leaped on the parapets, formed their line, and advanced upon the enemy, being commanded to fire when they were at the distance of twenty yards. The American chief and principal officers who led this column fell, killed or wounded. The soldiers remained for an instant without a chief, and bending under the discharges of musketry, fled precipitately, and only rallied at the spot where Colonel Duncan's battery was situated.

The third column inclined to the barranca, which divided the ground of the action from that where our 4,000 cavalry were posted, and who appeared immovable but imposing.

The Americans, repulsed from the Casa Mata, turned again to reform. The column, which had been stationary, was moved, and considerable forces charged anew upon the Casa Mata.

The battle became general. The roar of artillery and musketry resembled the explosion of a volcano, and smoke enveloped the combatants.

During these moments, and we see ourselves right in saying it, for the truth of history obliges us to it, there was sent to Alvarez, to Captain Schafino, to Licentiate D. Juan José Baz, and to Colonel Ramiro, a positive order to execute a strong charge. General Alvarez excused himself, saying that some of the chiefs did not wish to obey. Others of these chiefs doubted at this time whether the ground was practicable, and they had nowhere to pass. Be this as it may, the fact is, the cavalry, far from passing at the place marked by General Santa Anna, changed their direction, intending to seek a passage by another point almost inaccessible.

One of the pieces of twenty-fours of Captain Huger checked the second attempt of the cavalry, as the 2 pieces of Duncan's battery had checked the first. It is necessary to add that Major Sumner, at the head of 270 dragoons, passed to encounter our cavalry at the point that General Santa Anna had indicated as practicable, and they did not destroy, as they should have done, this feeble force which offered them battle. The colonel of the Mina, D. Lucas Balderas, had been wounded in the foot at the beginning of the action; but enthusiastic, and powerful like Echagaray, he did not wish to retire, and took the head of his battalion at the instant the Americans made their third and formidable effort to conquer the position of the mills. Balderas, attending to his men, advanced, perhaps rashly, and fell pierced with a ball. War deprived us of one of the best citizens; one of the military the bravest; one of men the most honorable. But he died surrounded by all the prestige of valor and of glory.

General Leon, moving serene and unmindful, passing in the midst of a shower of balls, and without flinching one step from his post, received a severe wound and fell, terminating his career, like Balderas, in a glorious manner, and leaving a grateful reminiscence to Mexicans.

Echagaray, the valiant colonel whom we have seen repulsing the first attack, and rescuing our pieces of artillery, and the officer of engineers, Colombres, performed, in the mills, feats for which victory should have crowned them. General D. Matías Peña and Colonel Cano were also found there animating their soldiers and doing good service.

The valiant Captain Mendez, of the 3d Light, aiding the Lieut. Martinez, and remaining in there, made a terrible fire with a piece of artillery until the first fell, and one part of his command was carried off by the battery which we have said had approached the aqueduct.

The soldiers of the Mina, valorous, and enthusiastic to the highest pitch, guided by their chiefs, Aleman, Diaz, and others, made desperate efforts, with success.

In the midst of this sanguinary strife the enemy arrived at the gate of the Molino, dislodging all the musketry who were in the aqueduct. One part of the Americans passed to the other side of the inclosure, and, sheltered by the lanes, penetrated to the back of the buildings, going and breaking open a door and sustaining another fight with some soldiers that defended it.

The greatest eulogium that can be made on this affair is by referring to the reports of the enemy, in which they assert, that out of 14 officers who led the column of attack 11 were strewed upon the field.

As for the centre, although estimated the weakest by the Americans, it was not the object of their strong assaults.

Colonel Echagaray, at the last extremity, collected the force which had stood and undertook his retreat.

The soldiers of the Mina retired likewise by the alleys to the grove without firing. The others, defending the azoteas, were surrounded in front and rear and taken prisoners. Colonel Tenorio performed to the very last his duty as a soldier of honor, and being seriously wounded was made prisoner. Suazo, an officer of the Mina, almost dead, saved the color of his battalion, twining it around his waist, and presenting it afterwards to those escaping, covered with blood from his wounds.

Our line being broken the position of the mills fell finally into the power of the enemy, not without, on their part, the field remaining covered with the bodies of the American soldiers, and having lost the flower of their officers.

Once this part of the line being forced they established a battery in front of the houses of the mills, and in connexion with our pieces that had fallen into their hands, directed their fire upon the Casa Mata, whose defenders had admirably sustained that point.

The enemy's columns surrounding this second position attacked it with a desperate effort. With the same were they received by our troops, who garrisoned the azoteas and parapets, as if it were a strife, so to say, body to body, and in this particular, as a favorable eulogy we must refer likewise to the official documents of the very enemy, who declared that they had to win the field inch by inch.* At this time the distinguished Colonel D. Gregorio Gelaty died valiantly.

Without the reserve coming up, and without the cavalry, in spite of the general clamor of the spectators afar off, urging them to charge, the troops of the centre being dispersed, the left of the wing of the line being absolutely forced, and attacked in front and flanks, the Casa Mata fell into the possession of the enemy. General Perez, who defended it with honor, effected equally his retreat by the lanes situated behind the building and reached the causeway of the Verónica.

Our readers may deem it strange that we have not mentioned General Santa Anna in all this action. It is because after having formed on the 7th his magnificent line, and having again almost destroyed it in the same night, he withdrew to sleep in the Palace, and at day-break marched to the garita of the Candelaria, a point which he believed would be attacked. The action then of the Molino del Rey wanted a General-in-chief, and it was reduced to isolated efforts on the part of those who had sufficient honor and patriotism to do their duty, and who seeing themselves abandoned by the chiefs of whom we have spoken, by the numerous cavalry, and by the hope of being aided, did not obtain a victory.

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* Linea à linea, is the expression.—Am. Ed.

At the garita of the Candelaria the firing of cannon was observed, which commenced, as we have said, at daybreak. General Santa Anna made for the scene of action at the head of the first light regiment. But he did not arrive to somewhere about half past nine in the morning, an hour at which the rout was consummated and when it was impossible to retrieve the disaster. On the causeway of Anzures, General Santa Anna met Colonel Echagaray who was retiring, conducting with great exertions the 2 pieces of the battery so tenaciously disputed.

It was his intention to resist the enemy who continued their advance. But now this being impossible the pieces were abandoned and the troops withdrew to Chapultepec.

The batteries of the Cerro* had continued firing with much accuracy upon the positions that the enemy had occupied. A bomb fell in the Casa Mata and the powder magazine in it exploded, killing Armstrong, an American Lieut. of Engineers.

Some portions of the enemy's columns of attack attempted to penetrate into the grove, but were checked by the battalions of San Blas and Querétaro, and this last full of enthusiasm operated opportunely with good success, until the enemy desisted.

The Americans collected their wounded and their officers killed, and retired to their head-quarters at Tacubaya. According to their official reports they lost near 800 men.

On the supposition that the enemy forced our positions and occupied our camp, in military parlance there could only be given to this affair the name of a defeat. But we judge that this is one of the defeats that does honor to us, one of the most signal and sanguinary battles of all this war, and that in which the Mexican soldiers gave convincing testimony of their valor and enthusiasm.

The Americans asserted that in this action General Santa Anna commanded, and that on our part 14,000 men fought. That which we have mentioned is the simple and only truth of the events. The reader can draw the conclusions and know clearly the causes which occasioned this new and deeply felt disaster.*

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* Cerro, Chapultepec.—Am. Ed.

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* As this is a battle from the contemplation of which the Mexican turns with shame, and the American with a shudder, any comment upon it would almost be inappropriate. It is therefore with no feeling of national pride that it is even dwelt upon, but rather in sadness and sorrow as though many familiar faces were rising from their bed of glory to remind of the many friends lost on that mournful day.

Conscious of the delicate position occupied by the society of gentlemen who produced this work, it would be far from our intention to insinuate that they did not endeavor to preserve "the truth of history" throughout. But this chapter is one in which some allowance may be made, provided it can be made with justice to the dead. The subject, to these authors was not only disagreeable, but absolutely hateful, and they approached it with a disgust, unfelt in any other part of their performance. As this edition will return to the capital of Mexico, one or two questions must be asked these gentlemen, in a spirit of kindness, heightened by a respect for their courtesy and individual worth.

Why was not General Worth's actual force in this battle correctly stated? You had his report before you as well as Cadwalader's, Duncan's, Huger's, and others? From these you have extracted largely, and yet you have placed the amount above what the official table presented. These returns show the whole force in that field to have been 3,154, while in the history it is represented at 3,800. The exactness with which the strength of some of the subordinate commands is copied, leaves no other impression than that the reports of the Americans were carefully studied and fully comprehended when the book was printed in Mexico. You have made the American dragoons stronger than they were in fact, and yet you do not perceive how this screens Alvarez from your own criticisms. But he certainly ran some risk owing to the judicious disposition of the American forces, in attacking infantry, flanked by batteries, while he was advancing over a barranca in files, where the impulse of a cavalry charge had to be spent, and again forming under a fire of artillery, to attack infantry in square and in the breaking of the charge to be dashed upon by the American dragoons. At one place Major Sumner's cavalry are correctly stated at precisely the number returned by himself, viz. 270. Afterwards they are said to be 300.

But while there is this attention given to the American side of the question, why was not the "truth of history" vindicated more clearly on the Mexican? The Americans had surely set the example. What was the number of the Mexican troops? by whom were they commanded? and how many were killed and wounded? It is moreover insinuated that this was believed to be only a reconnoissance, preparatory to an attack on Chapultepec or the Candelaria.

To set this matter at rest, let it be said that it is *now known* in Mexico, that Santa Anna was in possession of a copy of General Scott's order to attack the Molino del Rey, in a few hours after it was written, and during the whole of the 7th troops were as you state taking up their positions on that ground. It is believed further that Santa Anna knew the precise force that was to attack.

When, therefore, Scott supposed that Worth would surprise the mills and Casa Mata, he was met by what? Shall the veil be raised a little further? There was a traitor among the list of high ranking officers in the Mexican army, and for gold he had told your force. Scott had been betrayed by one not an American, not an officer or soldier, but Santa Anna was betrayed by one of his own officers and a Mexican. Santa Anna believed the information he received, and acted on it. General Scott did not believe what he learned at night, and—the victory was won.

When any Mexican gentlemen or society will deny that there were not 14,000 troops within supporting distance of the battle of the Molino del Rey, it may be requisite to prove the contrary, but that time has not come yet. This history does not make the denial. The information obtained was 16,000. But let that pass.

Supposing the cavalry arm to have been 4,000, any one acquainted with the anatomical structure of a Mexican or any other army, can very easily estimate the size and frame of the whole body. With Mexicans this is most disproportionately strong, but it does not therefore paralyse the other corps. Yet even with them it never exceeds one third of the whole army. In that of the Angostura it was only one tenth. But at the Molino del Rey it was about one-fourth of the Mexican forces. Estimating the distance from the mills to the Casa Mata, which was the extent of the line, the number of troops may be imagined requisite to cover the front, with the proper additions at the right and left extremities, and with the suitable reserves. All these are acknowledged to have been provided.

The American army, therefore, with 3,100 advanced to attack a position selected by the enemy, commanded by the fortress of Chapultepec, defended by 12,000 troops, protected behind stone walls and ditches, the ground swept by artillery on a dead level with the American line, and threatening with a charge of 4,000 cavalry. In almost the first few minutes, the Americans lost 800 of their number, and yet gained a victory in spite of all obstacles.

It was the greatest decisive victory ever gained in Mexico or on the American continent, but it is a picture too blood-stained for any portion of the American army or people yet to look upon except in grief and sorrow.—Am. Ed.

EL C.^{NE} LUCAS BALDERAS

Ackermans lith. 29 Fulton S^{t} N.Y.

CHAPTER XXII.

STORMING OF THE CASTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC—ACTIONS IN THE GARITAS—JUNTA OF WAR IN THE CITADEL.

In the last chapter we have left the Mexican troops who escaped death in the action of the Molino del Rey collected under shelter of the guns of Chapultepec, and the enemy masters of the field of battle. This situation did not continue long. The Americans collecting the wounded and burying their dead, remained during all this operation posted with one part of their forces on the hills in the immediate vicinity in a menacing attitude. Finally they returned to their quarters in Tacubaya.

In the opinion of many of the American chiefs this action of the Molino del Rey had been one of the most expensive and useless for the plan and object of the invaders. It had been seen that nearly 800 men and their best officers were lost, without having met with that immense quantity of materiel of war which they believed was deposited in the buildings, and which was likewise supposed to be indispensable for the defence of the capital. Generals Scott and Worth, after this battle, had a disagreeable misunderstanding, which afterwards caused the former to deprive Worth of his command, and he in turn accused Scott to the government.

But whatever was the result of this action in respect to the enemy, there cannot be the least doubt that for us it was very unfortunate. The death of Colonel Balderas and the balls in the combat destroyed almost entirely one of the best and bravest corps of the National Guard. One of the pieces of the largest calibre in Chapultepec had burst; the field battery was lost, along with a considerable quantity of park; the position once destroyed could not serve for a second defence, and the morale of the soldiers had suffered. For all the people were convinced that this formidable mass in appearance, was in reality useless if not directed by skilful chiefs who could avail themselves of the good disposition and enthusiasm of the soldiers.

All these circumstances are insignificant when there is an abundance of money, stores of artillery, and munitions, along with experienced and valiant chiefs to be employed; but when all are limited in the supply and the enemy near, they can do no less than influence powerfully the result of subsequent operations. Upon the whole we believe on this point, and knowing well of what we speak, the Americans were well convinced that the taking of some pieces of artillery and positions which could not be sustained, did not compensate for the loss of 800 men; being compelled from hard necessity to retire in consequence to their quarters. We make this remark, for after some time it may serve when a scientific review of these operations is written; a review which will place General Scott in the rank of a very ordinary captain, and annihilate those pompous reports of the American chiefs who declare with so much complacency that a thousand soldiers conquered in the greater number of the battles six or seven thousand Mexicans. On this point we have desired to preserve a severe impartiality restraining on most occasions our own natural self-love.*

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* This remark will no doubt be very distressing to General Scott, and no less astonishing to the American people who have rather a favorable opinion of their General's military abilities. In justice, however, to those American chiefs who are first underrated and then abused for their "pompous reports," it must be said that they never declared they had fought six or seven to one; although that disparity in the respective armies would sometimes not have been far from the truth. If the Mexicans, however, desire to contradict their statements, they ought to show what numbers they really had in the battles, and if they fought with the limited numbers of their favorite heroes at Thermopylæ, surely some one has been left to tell the tale in total numbers, and in killed and wounded.—AM. ED.

As soon as the enemy had retired again to their quarters in Tacubaya, a reconnoissance of the field was made by our forces, who returned to occupy momentarily the positions without any intention of fortifying or defending them.

The reader who is imbued with the transactions which we have endeavored to place before his eyes in the best manner possible will be amazed to learn, that General Santa Anna published a proclamation, asserting that a victory had been gained over the enemy, and that he had in person led the troops of the Republic. These proclamations accompanied with analogous communications of the minister were sent by extraordinary couriers in all directions, so that all the authorities of the nation believed and scarcely believe much more to this day, that we conquered at the Molino del Rey. The truth of history requires of us to destroy these illusions if they still exist. To celebrate the victory that the government said had been obtained over the enemy at the Molino, all the bells of the churches were rung and the music struck up in the quarters.

We cannot say what is the proper and convenient point for the preservation of the morale of the people and troops, the concealing of the disasters of war, or the passing them off for triumphs. On these occasions every person preserved silence in public; but every person also speaking figuratively, in spite of the full knowledge of the honorable and, as might be said, brilliant, deportment of the infantry, perceived the disasters which would follow very shortly, and calculated that once Chapultepec being lost, the city would be taken by the victorious enemy.

As much as General Santa Anna even should endeavor to counterfeit illusions, we must judge that the difficulty of the situation weighed upon him and he perceived that he should have to sustain new battles with the fortunate enemy, intent in their purpose. In fact, affairs had come to that point that General Scott had to redouble his efforts. He had but the choice of two extremes, a complete triumph or a retreat to Puebla. The latter would have been worse than a defeat. The cavalry, the guerrilias, the disposable force of infantry in Mexico, which was still respectable, would have launched forth in pursuit, and in a few days the scene* would have changed of this besieging and attacking general to one besieged and obliged to maintain a defence. The events which were soon brought about were undoubtedly designed by the dispensation of Providence against the cause of Mexico.

In the days that transpired from the battle of the Molino del Rey to the 11th, nothing of note occurred; and the enemy made no demonstration upon Chapultepec, insomuch that our military believed General Scott had changed the base of operations and the attacks would be changed to other garitas, undoubtedly less strong.

General Santa Anna, at this time, continued his residence in the Palace. At four in the morning he rose, mounted his horse, and examined the garitas and fortified points, occupied with a multitude of measures, distracting him, perhaps, from forming a general plan and well combined for obtaining a victory.

After the event of the Molino del Rey, the necessity was felt for a great number of troops and sufficient artillery to defend so extensive a city as Mexico. Our forces diminished in the garitas and fortifications, and, without the necessary allowance of artillery, were reduced to fractions not large. They were obliged to oppose the fire of ten, of twelve, of fifteen pieces of artillery and the attacks of dense columns of American infantry, that could be reinforced by the troops in reserve. In fine, the enemy were in position to be strongest at the point they might select, and overpower us with numbers; while we, to oppose an equal or greater number of forces in the attack, from necessity left other points uncovered, which could have been easily surprised. General Santa Anna was so fully aware of this, that, on one occasion, a shot hitting the Palace, he mounted hastily on a dragoon horse, and, without waiting for his adjutants, started for the garita of San Antonio.

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* In the original the expression is, "en pocos dias su papel de sitiador y de defensor lo habria cambiado," &c.—AM. ED.

We must give an idea of the situation held by the enemy around the city, before the storming of Chapultepec, and the position within guarded by our troops.

Their head-quarters were situated at Tacubaya. General Scott resided in the Palace of the Archbishop. The brigade of General Worth was quartered in the houses of the inhabitants.

The divisions of Generals Pillow and Quitman were found in cantonment in Coyoacan.

The general depôt of wagons, munitions, and artillery was in Mixcoac.

The rear-guard and reserve, composed of the brigades of Generals Smith and Twiggs, might be met with in San Angel.

From the 9th to the 11th they made the following movements. The united divisions of Pillow and Quitman moved silently in the night of the 11th to Tacubaya.

Before the eastern garitas of the city, that is to say, San Antonio, the Candelaria, and the Niño Perdido, there remained strong detachments of infantry and cavalry, and a battery of 12 pieces of cannon, one half light and the other siege ordnance.

Colonel Harney, commander of the cavalry, with a portion of it had charge of the depôt and prisoners that were in Mixcoac. Another part of the cavalry covered the American flank and rear.

In the night of the 11th, four batteries were established, to operate against the castle. The first, composed of 2 of sixteens and 1 eight-inch howitzer, was posted in the Hacienda of the Condesa, to breach the south side of the castle, and to defend the causeway running from Chapultepec to Tacubaya.

The second, formed of 1 24-pounder and 1 8-inch howitzer, was situated in a point most commanding of the hills of Del Rey and in front of the angle to the south-east of the castle.

The third, consisting of 1 gun, a sixteen, and 1 8-inch howitzer, was planted some 300 yards to the north-east of the buildings of the Molino.

The fourth, which was only 1 10-inch mortar, was imbedded within the mills, perfectly sheltered and concealed by a high wall of the aqueduct. Finally, 4 pieces of large calibre, 4 howitzers, and 1 mortar were ready to batter the castle.

On the 12th, at three in the afternoon, the division of General Pillow was moved from Tacubaya to the hills of Del Rey, and occupied the mill buildings.

With very slight difference these were the positions of the enemy. The forces of all arms came to 8,000 men with a numerous and well-served artillery, augmented considerably by the pieces lost by us in the former battles.

We must give a glance now at the city about to be stormed.

By a decree published on the 29th of July, at the moment the alarm was struck each one of the regidors should direct himself to his respective quarter to attend in good order to whatever the occasion required. The regidors who then occupied their positions, and D. Manuel Reyes Veramendi, first Alcalde, remained in the consistorial houses, receiving all the orders of the General-in-chief. The fortifications of the menaced garitas were strengthened as far as possible by working incessantly in them, in which they were assisted by a multitude of peasants who came with others, to be spectators of the works and military operations. Justice requires us to say that the greater part of the capitularies worked with much energy and patriotism, and that Sr. Reyes Veramendi was indefatigable in the performance of his duties as first Alcalde.

On the other part, the aspect of the city, saving the frequent passing movement of troops through the streets, was truly sad and frightful. The emigration of many families from the beginning of hostilities by the enemy in the valley of Mexico, had deprived this city of the bustle and life which are observed ordinarily, a circumstance which was increased by the seclusion to which others had resorted either from excessive selfishness or pusillanimity.

We will speak in the first place of Chapultepec, the key of Mexico, as then was commonly said, and whose reminiscences and traditions made it doubly important for the enemy, and moreover for the military projects they had conceived.

On the exterior it had the following fortifications. A horn-work in the road which leads to Tacubaya. A parapet in the gate at the entrance. Within the inclosure which surrounds the woods to the south side a breast-work was constructed, and a ditch eight yards wide and three in depth.

Within there were the following defences, many of them incomplete. In the circuit of the botanical garden, was a stand supported by a wall serving for a parapet. For some 250 yards there was a scaffold which ran round the inclosure of the woods, from which the soldiers could fire from under cover. A breast-work at the south enfiladed the entrance. Another was at the east and the last at the summer house* at the foot of the hill. Moreover at the point where it was supposed the enemy would pass six mines were dug, of which three were charged.

On the first level landing-place to the south a parapet was built, and another at the glorieta between the two entrances.

Ascending to the building it was met protected with blinds in that part called the dormitories, and the circuit of the edifice was surrounded with sacks of earth.

The artillery defending this fortification were 2 pieces of twenty-fours, 1 of eight, 3 field of fours, and 1 howitzer of 68, in all 7 pieces.

The chief of the castle was General D. Nicolas Bravo and the second General D. Mariano Monterde.

The chief of the section of engineers who had labored with indefatigable energy was D. Juan Cano, and the commandante of artillery D. Manuel Gamboa. Generals Noriega, Dosamantes and Perez were likewise sent afterwards to the fortress.

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* This summer house is known as the Glorieta.—Am. Ed.

The troops on the 12th were some 200 men at the foot of the hill, distributed in groups, assisted by the students of the military college,* and some more forces, who in all did not amount to 800 men.

Although in that which we have asserted it can have but little difference, still in connexion it must be noted for a simple relation of the events, that if Chapultepec was not an insignificant place, yet it could not be deemed impregnable, and much less held to oppose the formidable batteries of the enemy.

In our opinion a grave error was committed in not fixing the attention on the fortifications of the woods and at the foot of the hill, instead of the building, which was incapable of withstanding a bombardment of two or three days.

The garitas were defended by good works of fortification. At the San Antonio there were 6 pieces of ordnance of large calibre and 4 smaller on the fortification of the causeway. General Mariano Martinez commanded at this point.

The garita of the Niño Perdido connected with the San Antonio, had 2 field pieces in its fortifications and was protected by a corps of the National Guard.

The line from the garita of San Cosme to Santo Tomas was intrusted to General D. Joaquin Rangel, who covered it with his brigade and 2 pieces of artillery, one of eight and one of twelve. In the morning of the 13th it was reinforced with 1 howitzer of twenty-four.

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* The little boys, students of Chapultepec, took their first lesson in real war at the same school where they studied their books. They fought manfully, bravely, and with heroism. One of them was told by his mother that he must never return if not with honor, that she would rather see his dead body than him living disgraced. The spirited little fellow stood to his gun in the assault, and when some retreated and were killed, he would not yield an inch. He was captured where he stood, and his heroism saved both his honor and his life. There is no doubt of this fact. He was brought to the United States and is now finishing his education. His family gave their name to the place where the first battle in the valley was fought.—Am. Ed.

In the garita of Belen there was 1 piece of eight and in another part of the arches* 2 of the calibre of six and eight. General Terres commanded and Colonel D. Guadalupe Perdigon Garay was second at this place.

In the San Lázaro, Guadalupe, and Villejo, there had only been left some small detachments of infantry without any artillery.

The cavalry remained in the direction of Tacubaya and the hacienda of Morales, and frequently all of them or a part were in the city.

There were, moreover, 1 piece of artillery at the fountain of the Victoria in the paseo of Bucareli, and 1 in the causeway which leads from the same paseo to the arches and convent of San Fernando.

General Santa Anna distributed his disposable forces at the posts that he believed would be attacked, varying each moment the situations of the corps, and remaining with a force in reserve to send and to assist in person with it at the point requisite.

This was then, in brief, the situation which the two armies preserved. We will now return to the transactions of war that followed.

On the 11th, General Santa Anna passed in review one portion of the infantry, at a place situated between the causeway of the Candelaria and the San Antonio, in commemoration of the victory obtained over the Spaniards at Tampico; and General Tornel distributed an analogous proclamation very properly, to excite the enthusiasm of the defenders of Mexico. The military honors bestowed upon Santa Anna, and the vivas and music gave to this scene a martial solemnity. Being over, the troops retired to their quarters.

General Santa Anna, believing suddenly that the Americans were about to attack the garita of the Niño Perdido, sallied out in person at the head of a band of cavalry and some 25 guerrillas, commanded by Colonel Martinez, and made a reconnoissance to the point near to the incloeure of the hermitage, where were situated the enemy's batteries, which threw some balls and shells. He then retired, and there was nothing further of importance on that day.

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* The aqueduct from Chapultepec passes the garita of Belen, and its arches are alluded to.—Am. Ed.

At dawn on the 12th, the enemy's battery, situated in the hermitage, opened its fire on the garita of the Niño Perdido, without any other object, as we can learn from the documents published by the American chiefs, than to call attention, and to properly be able to plant the ordnance which should batter Chapultepec in the places which we have mentioned.

In effect, in a few minutes, these batteries began to fire upon Chapultepec. At first they caused no destruction. But rectifying their aim, the walls of the building commenced to be pierced by balls in all directions, experiencing great ravages also in the roofs, caused by the bombs which the mortar threw, that, as we have said, was concealed in the court of the Molino. The artillery of Chapultepec answered with much precision and accuracy. The engineers worked incessantly to repair the damage done by the enemy's projectiles, and the troops quite behind the parapets suffered from this storm of balls. The most intelligent in the military art judge that the troops could have been placed at the foot of the hill, to avoid the useless loss, leaving in the building only the artillerymen and the requisite engineers. This was not done, and the carcasses of the bombs and hollow balls killed and wounded many soldiers, who had not even the pleasure of discharging their muskets.

General Santa Anna was found between the garitas of San Antonio and the Candelaria, when the bombardment of Chapultepec commenced, without also any cessation of the activity of the batteries of the hermitage. After having received and spoken to an adjutant of General Bravo, he proceeded to the Viga, taking the vicinities of the Candelaria. He there placed the reserve, composed of the brigades of Lombardini and Rangel, who had together about 2,500 men.

General Santa Anna ordered that at the bridge called that of Chapultepec, should be placed the Matamoros battalion of Morilia, and to the left of it the San Blas. The rest of the reserve remained in the arches.* Except some skirmishing sustained by a few companies of the battalion of San Blas, to prevent the enemy constructing a certain battery at a forward rancho of the Condesa, and some shots exchanged between the horn-work and the enemy's battery, the troops had been all the morning in complete inaction; and suffering from the destruction which the enemy's balls occasioned among them, evincing calmness in receiving death and ready to advance to action. The reader, by the simple narration of these events, will think with us, that for the grand conflicts, and for the great transactions of life, a creative, a well-balanced and directing head is requisite. All our operations in this war had felt this want, and in turn it flowed back exclusively upon the unhappy soldiers and the good meritorious officers.

The batteries of the enemy continued their fire with the greatest vigor, and this was so intense that at noon General Santa Anna entered to Chapultepec, and to the foot of the causeway, to observe the better its effect. It was perceived that none of his adjutants accompanied him, and D. Antonio Haro and Colonel Carrasco alone followed, who went to leave with General Bravo the musket park detained; for the Americans prevented with their fire the communication by the causeway. When this officer was presented General Bravo was breakfasting with the greatest coolness, and the balls and bombs crushing around him the walls and blinds.

Lic. Lazo Estrada and other officers who accompanied General Bravo, gave also to the troops the most beautiful example of valor, despising the danger to which they were exposed; General Saldaña being especially distinguished, who remained serene in the midst of the shower of stones, which a bomb had thrown down on his head.

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* The arches here do not refer to the aqueduct, but to the building having arches appertaining to the Convent of San Fernando.—Am. Ed.

In the evening, General Santa Anna in person, entered the woods with a battalion to reinforce the work which looked to the east from the side of the cattle pond, and where the enemy were directing their fire to dislodge the troops guarding it. As soon as his presence was noticed, the firing was redoubled; and a bomb cut to pieces the commandante of battalion, Mendez, a valiant officer who had served in the North, and killed or wounded thirty soldiers. General Santa Anna ordered the troops to withdraw, and he himself retired with his staff to the gate, where he ordered a work to be thrown up to defend that side of the garden and the foot of the entrance. At nine, after concluding, he returned with his reserves to the Palace.

The bombardment had been horrible. It commenced a little after five in the morning, and did not cease until seven in the evening. In these fourteen hours the American batteries, perfectly served, had maintained a projectile in the air, and the greater part of their discharges taking effect. In the corridor, converted into a surgical hospital, were found mixed up the putrid bodies, the wounded breathing mournful groans and the young boys of the college; and, singular fact! the assistance and requisite medicines were wanting. General Bravo had resisted with valor and calmness this storm of fire; but knowing he would soon be assaulted, he demanded reinforcements of General Santa Anna, who answered through Generals Rangel and Peña, that he did not think of sending more troops until the hour of the storming.

In the balance of the night General Monterde labored with assiduity to repair the damage caused by the bombs, and to replace the blinds and strengthen the fortifications. But the time was very limited and peremptory. Nevertheless all hope was not lost, and an incident to which they gave great importance in the capital, came to reanimate them. This was the proximity of a force of the State of Mexico, at whose head was placed the Governor D. Francisco Modesto Olaguíbel.

From the time the Americans had descended into the valley of

Mexico, the authorities of the State had renewed their efforts as well to defend the inhabitants as to send some aid to the capital if it was necessary. The patriotic Vice-Governor D. Diego Perez Fernandez, the same who afterwards endeavored alone with a pistol in hand to check in San Augustin de las Cuevas a part of the enemy's cavalry, had marched to Acapulco, from whence he had brought some artillery to the capital. This service can be estimated by those who know the roads of the South. At the place called Rio Hondo, on the road to Toluca, good fortifications had been raised and a few pieces of artillery had been cast. The Governor Olaguíbel knowing then the decision of the Americans to attack the capital, united the troops as far as possible, placed himself at their head, and on the 11th came to Santa Fé with about 700 men. It is easy to understand that so small a force could not impede with any favorable result by operating upon the rear of the enemy, and its appearance did not diminish in any way the catastrophe commencing with the bombardment.

General Pillow put in observation of the movements of this force, a large body of Colonel Harney's cavalry, without these Americans venturing on an attack or drawing very near.

The section, then, of the State of Mexico which presented itself in fulfilment of its duty, executed in view of the enemy various movements by order of General Santa Anna. In one of these it was hoped as very probable, if it would not cause a defeat in the rear-guard of the enemy, at least it would draw off their attack, which according to their preparations they were about to make on Chápultepec.

General Alvarez offered to Governor Olaguíbel two brigades of cavalry, with which, united to the troops, they might be able to undertake a movement upon the enemy. This offer was accepted, and General D. Angel Guzman presented himself voluntarily to lead this assistance. Olaguíbel waited, and even through his adjutants demanded, a reinforcement, which never came. Finally he marched by order of General Alvarez to take post in the hacienda of the Morales, holding it necessary to extend from under the American battery.

On the 13th at daybreak the enemy's batteries returned to open their fire upon Chapultepec much more vividly than on the day before.

General Santa Anna having in the preceding night caused all the reserve to enter Mexico, leaving only about 800 men in Chapultepec; many of whom deserted shamefully. Some were visible at six in the morning on the causeway of Belen, with the brigade of Lombardini and the battalion of Hidalgo of the National Guard. As soon as General Bravo observed the movement of the enemy's troops he sent to advise General Santa Anna that he was going to be attacked, demanding park and reinforcements. He likewise placed Lieutenant Alaman ready to spring the mines. General Santa Anna unfortunately, who in the whole of this had neither comprehended the vulnerable point of the enemy nor his own, nor the time when to attack decisively, judged that Chapultepec was not about to be stormed, and therefore did not reinforce, contenting himself with defending the apertures of the causeways of Anzures and the Condesa.

The enemy, who had formed three strong columns, under the orders of Pillow, Quitman, and Worth, occupied the woods with the rifles, and sallying out of the Molino, overturned our few skirmishers, who defended at the foot. The column of General Worth, leaping the position and feigning an attack by the causeway of Anzures, called the attention of General Santa Anna. A cloud of skirmishers, advancing rapidly over the bridge of the causeway of the Condesa, sheltered themselves among the stocks of the magueys that had been cut down, and in the unevenness of the ground, and in the huts in the vicinity. The enemy, seeing their plan take effect and that the false attacks were resisted with vigor, directed the bulk of their columns that entered by the Molino to storming the hill.

These, flanked and preceded by skirmishers, began to climb up, some by the opening, and others at that part accessible from the north-west. In the meanwhile a cloud of skirmishers ascended, and appropriating the rocks, bushes, dead angles, and the unfortunate ground for our fortifications, destroyed with their sure shots the defenders, or distracted them from attending to the storming columns. These encountered no more formal resistance than what the entrance afforded and the foot of the hill, with the brave and distinguished Lieut.-Colonel D. Santiago Xicoténcal's battalion of San Blas. But this chief being flanked, pushed back, and killed, along with the greater part of his officers and soldiers, the Americans advanced to the second landing in the road leading up the hill, with a banner displayed, which sometimes fell from the one bearing it being killed, and the columns slightly giving way. Another, however, taking the colors, the advance continued to the rampart, where our defenders, astounded by the bombardment, fatigued, wanting sleep, and hungry, were hurled over the rocks by the bayonet or taken prisoners. A company of the New York regiment ascended to the top of the building, where some of the students still fired, and who were the last defenders of that Mexican flag which was quickly replaced by the American.

The mines did not happen to be sprung by Lieut. Aleman; for when he went to the place where the slow matches were, he found it occupied by the Americans, a circumstance which was officially mentioned by them, and which we believe, in justice to the young man who has been wrongfully accused.

The enemy, who had made the false attacks against the causeways, remained quiet, annoying only those with a few shots who retreated on the sides of the arches, in the direction of Belen, in the best possible order, and whom the balls of a 12lb. piece cut up so much, which was stationed on the hill on the side of the corridor. The Americans waited for a moment to make a reconnoissance, and only detached some skirmishers in observation.

General Perez was killed at the beginning of the attack of Chapultepec, and Lieut.-Colonel Cano, discharging his duty, was pierced by a rifle ball, and expired at nine at night on this day. The loss of this youth was sensibly felt by the sciences and by the country. General Dosamentes, who fought with much boldness, was wounded, and General Bravo was taken prisoner by Lieutenant Charles Brower. This general had not in this action falsified the historical character with which he is advantageously known within the Republic and beyond it. It is not, consequently, so certain as General Santa Anna has asserted, that he was encountered buried in the ditch to his very neck. Some other chiefs, officers, and students were likewise made prisoners. They had fulfilled their duty to the last moment, and it would afford us much pleasure to mention their names if we could recollect them all. In the defence of the causeway of the Condesa and the horn-work, the company of sharpshooters of San Blas especially distinguished themselves, as also the Matamoros battalion of Morelia, the captain, Traconis, and D. José Barreiro, major of brigade, being wounded.

The enemy, in all this affray, sustained a considerable loss, although much less than what they suffered at the Molino del Rey. One of the officers who led the storming column was killed, and likewise several engineers. General Pillow was severely wounded in the leg.

General Rangel, with some pickets, marched for the Veronica where he united with General D. Matias Peña, and after making courageous efforts on the causeway of Chapultepec, in leading the battalion of grenadiers, supported his falling back by firing upon the advance guard of Worth, who with some pieces of artillery was pushing forward in the same direction. In this manner arriving at the fortification of Santo Tomas, the troops halted, occupied the parapet, and defended it so boldly, that the column of Worth was checked, that had determined to take possession of this work. As well in the horn-work as in this scene, General Rangel conducted himself with much bravery and coolness.

If it be that as well in the attack of Chapultepec as in the retreat there were some actions deserving criticism if not even castigation, it is still impossible to deny that likewise some isolated and very honorable scenes passed. Moreover these afforded evidence of there being much cool blood and valor to prove that in some of these Mexican souls, patriotism was as pure as in the days of the Independence.*

From the beginning of this chapter we have proposed only to make a simple narrative of facts, in their order, and joined in the best possible method. But if we were to add a description of the picture which this venerable and ancient grove of Chapultepec presented, covered with a dense cloud of smoke that reposed for a moment in the bowers of all colors, shaken with the loud roar of artillery and fire-arms as if a stream of flashes were dooming it to destruction: its delicate turf covered with the dying and dead bodies, the waters of its fountains blood-stained, and bombs and balls demolishing the strong trunks of the trees: if our pen, we repeat, had the power of that of Tacitus, we are certain the reader could not conclude this chapter, without being filled with horror, and without feeling the hairs to rise upon his head.

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The catastrophe had not yet come to an end. It is true that for an instant the strife of the combat ceased, but this was only to turn anew and to commence in a short time. We shall endeavor, likewise in the best possible order, to explain the events which followed from ten in the morning of the 14th, the hour at which Chapultepec was taken, to five in the evening, when the Americans took possession of the garitas.

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* In connexion with these transactions, we cannot include all the measures and isolated details. It is very possible some names and facts have been omitted, that deserve to be transmitted to posterity, or at least an honorable mention. In this particular we will admit the just observations made to us, and if considered of importance they shall be published in the appendix.

Persons who live in or have seen the capital will comprehend perfectly the situation of the enemy. But for the benefit of foreign readers we will make a short explanation. Chapultepec, so to speak, is the commanding point, between the causeways that form the triangle. One of these is called of Belen, broad and with drains on both sides. In the middle of this is built the aqueduct or arches, which are large and made of stone and mortar, and capable of serving for defence or attack. The causeway is something less than one league in length and terminating at the garita of Belen. The causeway called the Veronica is equally broad, having on one side the fields of the hacienda of the Teja and on the other a small stream which divides the lands of the haciendas of Anzures and the Morales. The aqueduct limits the pastures of the hacienda of Teja. About two miles from Chapultepec is built the cemetery for the protestants, and at this point the causeway closes, the aqueduct continuing by the San Cosme, which is a street with beautiful and lofty edifices on both sides.

We have designated that the enemy to attack the fortress formed three columns. That of General Pillow remained to occupy the woods. That of General Quitman, after our troops had effected their retreat, began to hold the causeway of Chapultepec distributing under each of the arches 8 rifles and 1 musket, and that of General Worth was spread along the causeway of the Veronica more or less in the same order.

On our part, between Chapultepec and the garitas, there existed in the causeway of Belen a breastwork without a ditch at the Bridge of the Insurgents and in the San Cosme the fortification of Santo Tomas, to which, as has been said, were moreover the pieces situated at the fountain of the paseo and causeway that runs to San Fernando.

The column of Quitman protected by the rifles and artillery that had been placed in the pasture fields continued advancing, but met with an obstinate resistance at the Bridge of the Insurgents, made by the battalion of Morelia, and placed there by the order of General Santa Anna.

Having given a rapid idea of the situation preserved by the belligerent forces we must make some slight allusion to the morale of our troops and of the inhabitants in general in Mexico.

From the unanimous statement of persons versed in the art of war the Castle of Chapultepec was a fortification very insignificantly and badly defended, as they assert. But in common, people deemed it an impregnable fortress, an opinion corroborated by the tenacious resistance of Infanzon at this place at another period, and from the importance given to it in our civil revolutions. Therefore, the Americans possessing the Castle it was considered that the capital was lost, and fear and despondency prevailed in the minds of its inhabitants. But notwithstanding this consideration the energy of our troops did not decay. They remained resolute at their posts, at a time when the Nationals were almost untouched. At this point we ought to lament with pain that there was not some intelligent man to avail himself of these elements which even yet remained on a good footing.

Moreover, there were individuals in the troops and in the National Guards who might have used them with effect, for they had enthusiasm. Particular persons also were at the side of General Santa Anna who served him from the beginning in the capacity of aids. Among these, and it will serve alone as proof, we will mention Sr. D. Ignacio Conmonfort, who was distinguished so much for his fighting in Churubusco, D. Vincente García Torres, who, notwithstanding his opposition to Santa Anna endeavored to serve only his country, and D. Antonio Haro y Tamariz, who, in spite of his independent position, his social figure, his habits of peaceful life, and his separation from public affairs, sought dangers and made us indebted to him by this and other acts, mentioned in their place, so that we must assign to him in these pages this just tribute of honor.

He, Sr. Haro, in company with Colonel Carrasco, whom afterwards we shall mention as another to whom we are a debtor, stationed the force of Morelia, and was, without ceasing to fire, encouraging all to defend the point.

General Quitman, believing that Chapultepec once being taken, one part of the reserve would retreat, and the other disperse, and that he would meet no resistance except that very feint which the garita might oppose to him. But it was not thus, since being checked in his advance and not being able with his force of infantry alone to dislodge the battalion of Morelia from the breastwork mentioned, he took other measures. He ordered the pieces situated in the fields to advance; new forces came to reinforce his column, and planting an eight-inch howitzer facing the work, he battered thus our soldiers in front and flank. These wanting ammunition which they demanded, but which was not sent to them, abandoned it. The Americans, therefore, successively arriving, occupied it, and notwithstanding this short defence the reserve regained the Citadel.

General Worth continued his forward movement by the causeway of the Veronica. One portion of our cavalry advanced to check him, and at the redoubt of Santo Tomas sounded the charge. But this had no favorable result, for in a very short time they retreated with their killed and wounded, and Colonel Ramiro having distinguished himself.

By the causeway of Belen, the Americans advanced with infantry, and were checked by the artillery placed close under the arches, and by the infantry at the loop-holes in the house and at the sides of the garita. Then General Quitman determined to batter the garita with the heavy pieces he had brought. General Santa Anna was persuaded that the fire of the artillery would not come to storming, and therefore turned to San Cosme, meeting General Rangel who had abandoned Santo Tomas, and who was returning in the direction of the centre of the city of Mexico, without defending the garita. General Santa Anna stopped the confusion of the troops, ordering them once more to the garita and to the houses on each side. By this movement the enemy who came without artillery and in close order had to fall back to find their batteries.

At this instant General Santa Anna being advised that the garita of Belen was abandoned, and the Citadel incurring great danger, came at once with the forces following him and occupied that edifice. In fact the force posted at the garita had withdrawn, and General Terrés was found in one of the doors of the Citadel. There General Santa Anna met him, and excited to the highest, threatened him, making use of the most severe expressions and at last paying him with a rope's end in the face.* This notable occurrence has caused a controversy into which, according to our plan, we do not desire to enter, knowing only as an incontrovertible fact that the garita was abandoned before its invasion by the enemy.

This scene being over, General Santa Anna ordered Colonel Carrasco to take the piece that was at the fountain of the Victoria and drawing near to the causeway to batter the enemy from thence, who now occupied the garita, and make it a heap of rubbish from his firing. D. Antonio Haro had the happy thought of taking out a piece from the Citadel and placing it on the side of the arches at the College of Belen de las Mochas, with the object of dislodging the rifles who fired at the Citadel from behind the parapets of the arches. This piece was served by a lieutenant of artillery. In this place we must mention D. Isodoro Béistegui, and who merits particular notice for his valor and enthusiasm, with which to the last he fought.

Colonel Castro, with some soldiers whom he collected, occupied the azotea of the College of Belen, and from thence made good firing upon the enemy advancing under the arches.

This operation conceived in the midst of the conflict when the enemy were near and triumphant, and when every person had now lost all kind of hope, had a brilliant result. Carrasco, with only two artillerymen and a few peasants, transported the piece in all directions, and all his shots took effect perfectly, in such a manner that it was really equal to a complete battery. The brave officer who commanded the piece posted in the vicinity of Belen de las Mochas, on his part also made good firing, till he fell, a victim to his courage and to his country. The best eulogium that can be made of these soldiers is that mentioned by General Quitman in his official report where he inserted the following: "When I believed the enemy to have been conquered and driven out of the garita, my troops received a shower of iron."

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* Le pagara con un chicote en la cara.

We will turn one instant to the barrier of San Cosme which General Santa Anna deemed perfectly secure. Our troops occupying the houses received a charge from the enemy, who coming in great numbers and with two howitzers commenced firing on the houses, attacking all simultaneously, and in consequence left our troops only to retreat in confusion into the city. General Santa Anna hastened once more to this point, to observe with disgust the disorder that prevailed. He gave the most energetic orders to establish the morale lost, and to continue the defence. He sent them to occupy the house of the Pinillos, San Fernando and other edifices near at hand, and from thence, without ceasing, to continue their fire.

Under these circumstances the Americans penetrated by a causeway, situated at the side of the garita of Belen, and appeared in the house called that of the Molinito, threatening the defenders of the capital with a new and imminent danger. D. Francisco Schiafino, an adjutant of General Santa Anna, hastened anxiously for 300 men to repulse the enemy, who advanced behind the houses. But by the time General Rangel had consented to this the bugle sounded a retreat. This sound which, without doubt, was only for one corps, spread throughout the whole line, and immediately the soldiers commenced to leave the buildings, and to disband in all directions, without the personal exertions of General Santa Anna and some of his adjutants being able to restrain them. The confused masses hastened to disperse with a few shots from the artillery of General Worth, who advanced with rapidity.

Still, in the garita of Belen the last effort was attempted to be made. They formed a column on the outside to take it, but without effect, as the enemy made use of their artillery. Finally, at five in the evening, the two garitas were occupied by Generals Worth and Quitman. Srs. Othon and D. Eligio Romero contributed to this last exertion, exposing conspicuously their lives. The horse which the latter rode received eight wounds.

All the dispersed troops and those posted at other points began to unite at the Citadel, where, as might be supposed, dismay and confusion prevailed. The battalion Hidalgo was ordered to place itself in Santa Isabel. That of Victoria refused to abandon the garita of Niño Perdido and San Antonio, using them to annoy the small parties of Americans who appeared on the causeways; and Colonel D. Pedro Jorrin, at the head of a portion of his battalion, turned to a causeway near to the garita of Belen, where, during a part of the action, and some time after it, he was firing actively.

The section of Sr. Olaguibel, which the Governor had now turned over to the Vice-Governor, entered the capital the same evening and was posted also at the Citadel. Sr. Olaguibel asked General Santa Anna to place it at the post of San Fernando for its defence. But he reserved this concession, since no general determination was yet taken as to what should be done for the future.

Such determination was not long in coming, and as on it depended in a great measure the success and result of the war, we believe it necessary to make it as an act of the greatest importance.

In one of the pavilions of the Citadel they held a council, which it may be desired to call a junta of war. General Alcorta, who was Minister of War, General Carrera, Commandante of Artillery, the Generals Chiefs of Brigades, D. Manuel Lombardini and D. Francisco Perez, and the Adjutants of Santa Anna, Lic. Betancourt, and D. Domingo Romero, along with D. Francisco Modesto Olaguibel, met in it. General Santa Anna presided, and explained, that supposing the misfortunes to have happened in the evening, he desired to know the opinion of those present whether or not the defence of the capital ought to be prolonged. Sr. Carrera declared that the demoralization was complete, and from the quantity of artillery and arms that had been lost he thought the defence continuing to be made would produce no favorable result. Sr. Olaguíbel excited, manifested his opinion by saying, that he was not by profession a military man, and whatever idea, therefore, he might express might not be appropriate, and upon the whole he desired that those skilled in such matters would indicate their feelings with frankness. Thereupon, Generals Lombardini, Alcorta, and Perez, amplified their reflections successively, as General Carrera had commenced, and all were of the opinion that the city ought to be evacuated. Lic. Betancourt spoke without either deciding for the defence or for the abandonment of the city. Then Sr. Olaguíbel took up, for the second time, the discourse, and remarked, that after hearing the opinions expressed by these military, he deemed with frankness, that the moment when the enemy occupied the garitas of the city was not the most opportune for deciding a question of such great importance, and that the terrible responsibility ought to be remembered which would fall upon General Santa Anna in abandoning the city. Upon the whole, it appeared proper to him, that in the Palace, with the assistance of the Ministers and with a great number of Generals this question should be examined, and afterwards that resolution taken most conducive to the interests of the country, and the reputation, moreover, of General Santa Anna. He, however, who it seemed had already formed his resolution, did not consider the reflections of Olaguíbel practicable, answered in these decided words—"I resolve that this night the city must be evacuated, and I name Sr. Lombardini General-in-chief, and General Perez second."

Lombardini opposed a short resistance, but consented at last, and it was decided that the cavalry should leave at once, and the infantry at about two in the morning.

The number of infantry assembled in the Citadel was more or less

5,000 men, and the cavalry, almost untouched after such a conflict, amounted to about 4,000 men.

Between eight and nine of the night, D. Trigueros was at the Citadel, and in his carriage took General Santa Anna to the villa of Guadalupe.

General Quitman did not pass the garita of Belen, but Worth threw forward some forces in the direction of San Hipolito, discharging, about midnight, some balls and bombs into the centre of the city.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MEXICO, ON THE DAYS OF THE 14TH, 15TH, AND 16TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1847.

THE inhabitants of Mexico, in spite of the defeats on the days before, had slept in the belief that the troops even yet remaining would defend the capital from street to street. This was in conformity with the solemn promise of General Santa Anna: but the 14th of September dissipated it under the yoke of the foreign bayonets.

The Nationals, who had received the order to dissolve, were not in general inclined to obey. In the corps of the Hidalgo they had a junta to resolve upon what should be done: and the chiefs and officers deeming it would be only a useless sacrifice of the young men forming this regiment to oppose, agreed to comply with the command. Nevertheless, the fourth company, situated in the convent of Santa Isabel, did not wish to do so till early next day, being now completely surrounded by the enemy. But some Nationals withdrew with their arms, and afterwards to place their colors in safety.

In the night of the 13th the division of General Quitman constructed a fortification in the garita of Belen, sustained by a twenty-four pounder, another of eighteen, and an eight inch howitzer. Early on the 14th certain messengers came from the Citadel with a white flag saying, that Santa Anna had abandoned the city.

They took possession of the Citadel and left a detachment in the garita. According to their official report they found 15 pieces of mounted cannon; and following on they sent a column, supported by a light battery, through the principal streets to the grand Plaza.

Captain Roberts of the Rifles was directed by General Quitman to place the American standard upon the Palace.

The Regidors, Lic. D. Urbano Fonseca, Lic. D. José Maria Zaldivar, with D. Juan Palacios as interpreter, and the official Mayor, D. Leandro Estrada, on the night before had gone out to the American General to ask security in the name of the Ayuntamiento.

The commission proceeded at half-past one in the morning to the town of Tacubaya, where they found General Scott, and did not return until they had obtained the guarantee of his word of honor to respect the inhabitants.

It was six in the morning when the column of General Quitman entered the city. Afterwards the troops penetrated, whom General Worth commanded, and through the day the remaining forces of the enemy. General Scott, on a large and beautiful horse, with a proud escort, made his entrance about nine in the morning.

The citizens of Mexico, who on the former days had given a greater example of indolence than patriotism, could not bear the appearance of the invaders who so haughtily took possession of the capital. People assembled and undertook to form circles: their anger rose at the haughtiness of the North Americans; and quick despising the danger, they desired to provoke a sanguinary conflict, and raised the cry for war. The conquerors, who now did not calculate upon meeting resistance, saw themselves encountered in the plazas and streets with a rush that alarmed them.

We have heard a variety of stories as to the place where the first shot came from: and it is even difficult to discover which is most exact; but according to very many of them this fire was made from the store of Lopez.

Colonel Carbajal of the National Guard, in union with certain others, had formed the plan to fight the enemy on their entrance into the city. In this combination was the greater part in the neighborhood of the streets from the Alameda to the Salto del Agua. A citizen, named Esquivel, fired before the time of which we have spoken, and they, believing it was the signal for the combat, opened the attack on the streets of the Hospital Real, and the San Juan.

This firing was at General Worth, who was on horseback at the corner of the store of Lopez, but without hitting him, but Colonel Garland was struck in the leg. The Americans penetrated through the streets to that point, bringing cannon, breaking down the doors, sacking houses, and committing a thousand other excesses. Those who spoke Spanish found out the first that had fired; and Colonel Carbajal, being denounced by two persons, incurred great danger of being shot.

Hereupon the strife now became general. In all the streets which the enemy occupied they fought with boldness and enthusiasm. A majority of the people who were engaged, were without fire-arms, with the exception of some who, more fortunate than others, had carbines and muskets. The others, to annoy the enemy, used stones and billets of wood, from whence it followed that the Americans made among the Mexicans a terrible havoc.

Some Nationals, who we have seen on the night before had to abandon their posts, sallied from their houses into the streets, carrying with them their arms to take part in the affray. They occupied certain high buildings and various churches, from whence they could damage the enemy. At the barriers of San Lázaro, San Pablo, la Palma, and El Carmen, men were seen to break out, decided to seek death in the defence of their liberty. Many who, in consequence of the distance, could not injure the enemy, with their arms hastily prepared, walked out to the middle of the streets, without any other object than to provoke them and to throw themselves on them, which they might do with good effect when the pieces of the Americans were discharged.

Many of the victims of this day watered with their blood the streets and plazas of the city. It is mournful to say that this generous exertion of the low people was, in general, censured with acrimony by the class privileged by fortune, who saw with indifference the humiliation of their country, if they could only preserve their interests and their comfort.

The desolating noise of musketry resounded all day, and the artillery, shaking the buildings to their foundations, spread despair and death. For whole hours the strife was prolonged, undertaken by a very small part of the people, without plan, without order, without assistance, or any element which could promise a good result. But it was a terrible conflict worthy to be remembered.

Sublime actions and strokes of valor and heroism were then witnessed which certainly would never be forgotten if history could collect the names of those who thus sacrificed themselves for their country. But they died, having no other recompense than the self-satisfaction springing from the performance of duty.

Even in the midst of the combat the enemy gave themselves up to the most infamous outrages. Horrible were the disasters that marked the occupation of Mexico. He who has not seen an innocent people seized by an unbridled soldiery, attacked when disarmed, the doors of their private dwellings broken, their houses sacked, and peaceful families slaughtered, cannot form an idea of the aspect then presented by the still as beautiful as unfortunate capital of the Republic. A well formed, disciplined, and organized troop appearing among a people causes the inhabitants only the weight of being subjected by force. But an army badly equipped, and for the most part disorganized and vicious, exhibit the impudence of drunkenness, the follies of the clown in motley, and the ferocity of the savage in excesses; while the brave soldier, even the robber, will give to the victim of his wickedness only the pain of being conquered, the shame of humiliation.

The Ayuntamiento published on the same day, the 14th, a proclamation explaining the evils resulting from this state of strife to the public tranquillity, which they insisted should be re-established. It is said the American general refused to concede to the municipal authorities all the guarantees for their natural and national rights while the fighting lasted, and that he had marched the army, and given orders to his troops, that the house in which they discovered the firing to be continued should be demolished by the artillery and its inhabitants killed.

The night was dark and awful. The suffering families remained within their houses constantly in dread that the Americans would come to break open their homes, and perpetrate the most shameful crimes upon their persons. The aged father trembled for his innocent daughter, and she in return for his life, while neither lamp nor light of any kind illumined the fearful Mexico. Dead bodies lay scattered through the streets: many soldiers of the cavalry ran through the city, striking their swords against the walls, violating the doors of private houses and the stores of merchants, taking from the one the most precious goods and from the other eatables scarce among the inhabitants; for the fear of going forth to purchase them, at the very few shops open during the day, induced the quiet people to remain without food.

It may be asserted that the greater part of the many inhabitants of Mexico passed the night in watching. Who could sleep with the thought of the country so recently outraged, and with the painful recollection of the numerous Mexicans who had perished on this and former days! Few families, in truth, were spared, who had not to lament some most beloved object.

Day dawned on the 15th, and when the good citizens, who regretted that which they had designated as the popular anger, and consequently the alarm, saw in it a hope of recovering their liberty, the sound of arms returned again to be heard, and the common exclamation of enthusiasm. A sublime exclamation then, which denoted a people decided and brave. The terrible scenes of the day before were repeated upon a soil moistened with blood, without the continued menaces of General Scott availing to allay the public rage, although he swore he would level with the ground the block of houses from whence one shot should be directed against the troops.

In the midst of so many sacrifices, till then useless for our liberty, there was a hope in every Mexican heart that the army of the line would aid this movement, weak, it is true, from the want of combination, leaders, park, arms, and in fact of every element essential to success. This hope was the more natural if the assistance had been received, and probably the flag of the stars raised in the evening by the invaders over the National Palace would have been replaced by our own, and Mexico restored to her liberty and honor lost from such dastardly conduct. This hope came to nothing as has been perceived, and on the 14th some dragoons only were seen traversing certain streets of the city belonging to the fifth, ninth, and Guanajuato regiments, badly armed since they had charged their carbines so often that they were out of order. These now threw down their arms, and waved their lances over the enemy, among whose ranks they fell fighting valiantly.

It is not easy to ascertain exactly what was the object of the chiefs of our army in sending to Mexico these troops, since as an assistance they were in truth too insignificant against an enemy possessed of the most eligible points of the city and greatly superior in numbers. With this to draw off the enemy to the end that they would not follow up, is very doubtful, since it never can be supposed the Americans intended to destroy but only to take our capital, upon which they had now determined.

However, the result was, that some soldiers were made victims of their obedience serving only to double the confusion of that day and to increase the destruction and desolation that prevailed.

All hope of positive assistance on the part of our troops was lost, and General Scott published various penal orders for those who should take arms against his soldiers, and the Ayuntamiento of

Mexico intimated others of a more distinct character. By the latter it was explained to the people that while this state of effervescence existed the assurances could not be obtained from the invaders, that had been offered to the inhabitants; and that in the sad experience of two days of constant exertions, Mexico had obtained no advantage over the Americans, and from the causes apparent they could succeed no better for the future. These considerations, joined to the selfishness of the influential classes, produced the result that when the light of day should be over the movement should be over also.

A correct explanation should be given of the position of affairs that prevailed in Mexico, whereby the portion of the people who fought could not triumph over the invaders, since in such cases things which appear the most insignificant affect most powerfully the result.

One small part of a community when it rises from whatever motive, if not pushed on by the reflecting class, if it does not find a support in those who can give it with their prestige, with their fortune or mental abilities, is always a victim to its boldness, the more surely when, as happened in Mexico, private interests and shameful timidity made those instead of imparting vigor to the laudable exertions, smother them with their indifference.

It is as shameful as true that on these solemn days in the midst of the public enthusiasm, and when nothing should have been shown before the eyes of the world of a desire for peace with the enemy, there might have been seen on all the balconies with very few exceptions, white flags placed on the houses of Mexicans, many of whom had been honored with public office. The foreigners planted theirs of the different nations from whence they sprang. In truth, this was a sad example which these last afforded; to the end of avoiding the sacking their property they pointed out in this way the houses that might be robbed with impunity. Notwithstanding in duty to truth and gratitude, it must not be passed over in silence, that there were some honorable exceptions among the foreigners, well known among us for their disinterestedness and love to the country, who possessing great wealth that might be lost, preferred perchance to fight, than to avail themselves of that mode to save their riches; while some families, children of our soil, offered to the view a most shameful contrast, in shielding themselves with foreign flags.

The news which flew through the city that the forces in the villa of Guadalupe instead of coming against the enemy were going to move further off, influenced greatly the minds of the wearied people now undeceived. But what co-operated the most to destroy this movement were the constant exertions of the Ayuntamiento, exertions censured then by those who felt the sacred fire of patriotism burning in their breast. When a people fight for liberty it is right to leave them to work according to their intention, without attending either to private interests or the effusion of blood, since their efforts may be unfortunate, or they may not, as no one knows what they can accomplish, being likewise a testimonial of honor to all the world. This is, moreover, one of those cases rare in truth in which if even the issue is deemed deplorable, the noble enterprise ought not to be shunned, the most noble in the face of the world.

The emigration on these days was numerous. The roads were covered with families, a sight that gave an inexplicable pang, like birds who finding their nests destroyed by the storm, send forth the most plaintive notes from the boughs that sheltered them, and fly to strange lands to seek skies more serene. It is proper in this place to sketch the picture of the desolation of these families, who, without means, and with a future no more to them, went forth to suffer all kinds of afflictions so as to escape the dangers dreaded in the passions of the invaders.

On the night of the 15th Mexico presented a most frightful contrast. On one side the inhabitants inclosed in their houses, awaited in consternation and despair, while on the other a triumphant soldiery full of delight and excited by intoxicating liquors felt the hours pass away in the laugh and in gladness.

With morning the fright of the one and the insulting mirth of the other were ended, and the sun which years before had seen Mexico liberated by her heroic youth, illumined now a people in slavery and resigned to their disgrace.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ARMY LEAVES THE CAPITAL. ITS DIVISION INTO TWO SECTIONS. MARCH OF THE FIRST TO QUERÉTARO AND OF THE SECOND TO PUEBLA.

The junta in the Citadel having adopted the resolution for the army to abandon the capital, the retreat took place in the night to the villa of Guadalupe. Neither the junta nor the General-in-chief thought of a plan of operations for the future: nothing was determined for the subsequent conduct of the government, and nothing was touched as to measures of policy or of war. The future for the Republic was enveloped in confusion and neglect.

Finally, to carry into effect the resolution of the junta, General Lombardini, who had been named Chief of the Army, directed that two adjutants should withdraw the troops from their present positions and put them in march for the garrita of Peralvillo, where they should halt. From some inconceivable neglect, the only forces withdrawn were those in the Citadel, in the house of Ayllon, in La Accordada, and in El Portillo de San Diego, leaving entirely forgotten those of the Niño Perdido, La Profesa, and San Fernando, who covered the occupation of the Plaza.

General Alvarez, with 300 sons of the South, and the cavalry, divided into two brigades, under Generals Quijano and D. Manuel Andrade, sallied out before the other troops. They passed over by the city of Guadalupe, where they left the regiment of Husares and the squadron of Vera Cruz, and continued their march to San Cristóbal.

At eleven at night, the trains and artillery commenced to leave, that ought to have gone in front. General Carrera, director of arms, as well as the principal chiefs of it, had labored beforehand, with an industry deserving of praise, to arrange all for the retreat. But, in spite of their exertions, the precipitation with which they undertook the march and the want of mules prevented their bearing off the immense material of war deposited in the Citadel. Not more than 14 pieces, with some caissons, were saved, leaving there various ordnance, a considerable supply of fire-arms, and other useful articles of war, that fell subsequently into the hands of the enemy.

The infantry was divided into four sections, which took different streets, so as not to embarrass the march, but to unite at the mentioned garita of Peralvillo. Governor Olaguíbel commanded the first, composed of Nationals that he had brought from Toluca. The second was formed of the battalions of Lagos, Iturbidé, and Tula, under Arroyo, commandante of battalion. General Martinez conducted the third, which consisted of many pickets from various corps. Lastly, General Peres might be seen in front of the fourth, to whom the remaining light corps and the 11th of the line reported.

The brigades marched in silence. Sadness reigned in all their hearts. They went away with grief from the city they had defended, thinking that the following sun would shine upon the triumphant entrance of the enemy, who were about to accomplish what all of us had spurned as the crazy offspring of their pride.

The corps that arrived first at the garita halted until they were joined by all the others. Then commenced to be reaped the fruits of the demoralization which so many shocks had introduced into the army. The soldiers, favored by the darkness, began to desert, thus diminishing the force, not now very great, which had left the city. Those who did not commit this crime sought the repose that the continual fatigue of the last days demanded. Soon some forgot in grateful slumber the labors that were passed, while others, not being able to shut their eyes, thought of the evils to which they were brought, and even suffered already, in the gloomy future, and in the unhappiness of the Republic. * * * This passed till one in the night.

In a few minutes General Lombardini ordered that they should continue their march. The order was obeyed, but not without the troops murmuring, for their sleep had been broken, and it prevented them enjoying for some time the repose so necessary for them.

General Santa Anna, who had gone out of Mexico at midnight, was in Guadalupe when the infantry came there, and directed that they should take the road that runs from that city to Tlalnepantla. At daybreak on the 14th, the troops who went on heard at their rear-guard some firing, which very soon turned them into frightful disorder. The rumor spread that the Americans were coming in pursuit of the army: the shooting was attributed to their advance; and some Mexican soldiers, without thinking how unlikely was such an event, gave it belief and yielded to a panic of terror, who had so often confronted true dangers. Such was the state of disorder to which the remaining forces might be seen reduced, who had defended the national independence.

The firing that originated the confusion had been made by certain soldiers of the Matamoros battalion, a corps commanded by the Deputy Othon, which, contaminated by the same spirit of discontent that in a few moments became general, had undertaken to disband, shooting off their muskets in all directions, very far from reflecting on the disorder about to be made by the noise.

General Santa Anna hearing also the shooting, and believing with many others that it was the enemy cutting off the retreat, went in person to have the infantry countermarch. But, ascertaining soon that the danger was imaginary, he directed them to follow on. He, at this time, consulted with General Herrera, who was in company with him, upon a plan he had formed. This was, that Herrera, with the greater part of the artillery and all the trains, should proceed to Querétaro, while he, with the cavalry and 4 light pieces, would march upon Puebla. In this city, favored by General Rea, he might surprise the small garrison left there by Scott and oblige it to surrender. General Herrera excused himself from the command, alleging his infirmities and the difficulty of preserving order and discipline in a division demoralised already, and which undoubtedly the absolute want of assistance and supplies would soon exasperate. But urged to the undertaking, and to resign himself to suffering the annoyances he perceived, he determined to make the sacrifice in obedience to duty to the country, and immediately marched with the division in pursuance of the plan of Santa Anna.

He returned to Guadalupe, and took from thence the road to San Juan Teotihuacan, with the intention of coming up to the cavalry who already were following that route.

The morning of the 14th was as gloomy and sad as the destiny of the Republic. There was a mist so thick that objects could not be seen at a few steps in the distance. Soon a light shower began to fall which soaked the soldiers; and the cold increased that was felt. Arriving at Tlalnepantla the troops were given an hour for rest, and then pursued their march for Cuautitlan.

While thus the two sections of the army travelled by two distinct roads, in conformity with the plan adopted, the people in the capital rose against the invaders. But seeking a support that did not assist them, there were not wanting those who thought of advising General Santa Anna as to what was passing, and urging him to return to favor the insurrection. The citizen Prospero Perez, one of the small leaders of the inhabitants, was the person who brought the information to the General-in-chief, whom he overtook in Tulpetlac. He supposing it successful resolved to turn upon Mexico the forces in his immediate command, and despatched an adjutant to General Herrera for him to do the same.

An hour after this information was given, the above order was received in Cuautitlan. The dissatisfaction was plain with which this disposition was viewed by some that obliged them to return to suffer the dangers and undergo the hardships of war, when now they saw themselves free from both in the retreat. However, the troops determined to place themselves under march, when another adjutant appeared with a new order to follow on to Querétaro, for reasons which we are about to relate.

General Santa Anna, apprised by Perez of what had happened, was returning from the town of Tulpetlac to the garita of Peralvillo, where he placed the sons of the South, proposing to avail himself in his defence of those parapets constructed to receive the enemy. He made part of the regiments of the 5th, 9th, and of Guanajuato enter the city, who proceeding as far as Santa Catarina and the Conception, lanced some Americans, and afterwards they withdrew. At sundown all countermarched to Guadalupe, for General Santa Anna learned that this movement in the capital was a contemptible affair, and that the enemy would very soon overcome the resistance of the people. In consequence of this opinion he sent the above order for the infantry to continue their march to Querétaro.

Before going further, it is proper to state the position of Lic. Olaguíbel, for the relation should not be left incomplete which he bore to the section under his command. Olaguíbel, who had departed from Mexico with the infantry, had gone forward to Tlalnepantla, where he separated from the division marching under General Herrera; after the General having given to him, on his request, certain orders, that the revenues of the towns through which he would pass, should be delivered to him for his assistance.

He still remained in Tlalnepantla when he learned that the inhabitants of the capital had taken arms against the Americans. For the purpose of gaining exact information of the transactions he sallied out of the town where we have met him and went to the Ahuehuetes. There he stopped, and came to the conclusion respecting the occurrences in Mexico, that they were of small importance, and returned to Tlalnepantla, where he passed the night.

On the following day, to know if the resistance was to be discontinued, he despatched a certain person in his confidence, that he might be informed with certainty of the events. When this officer returned he described them as very insignificant, giving to them in fact less value than in reality they had. He therefore resolved not to lend assistance to those who were defending, and he was confirmed in his first idea to withdraw with his force to Toluca by taking a circuit.

Before marching, information came that various chiefs and officers of Herrera's division thought, instead of going to Querétaro, to retreat to Toluca. This idea being very disagreeable to him, he opposed at once the military gentleman who in turn threw in his face that he had not fulfilled his duty. He, however, persisted in opposing in every way the troops remaining in the state which he governed. Determined therefore to carry out this resolution, he finally took the direction of Toluca by the road of Nijini.

The division of Herrera left on the 15th for Huehuetoca, where they arrived without anything particular occurring on the march. The troops were allowed to take some rest; but they had not had more than an hour of repose, when Lieut.-Colonel Cadena, adjutant of General Santa Anna, presented himself with the order to make a new countermarch; for in Mexico they continued the fighting with the enemy, and it was very urgent to assist those who were defending themselves without any military support.

The General-in-chief, on the morning of the 15th, had received fresh intelligence exaggerated and affecting, that the combat in the capital had not terminated, and in consequence had returned on the day before to the garita of Peralvillo, with the cavalry and infantry of the south, sending at the same time Cadena to have the division that had now reached Huehuetoca countermarched. In Peralvillo he heard nothing beyond some partial firing, and from it he was persuaded that the resistance of the people was drawing to a close. From this he gave no assistance, and remained in expectation until seven at night. At that hour he returned to Guadalupe, from whence he communicated another order to the infantry to definitively retire into the country.

On the 16th a junta of war was held; after which General Santa Anna resigned the supreme command, which was received. In virtue of the extraordinary powers it was provided that D. Manuel de la Peña y Peña should assume the Presidency of the Republic, as President of the Supreme Court of Justice, and as associates Generals Herrera and Alcorta being named. After this Santa Anna took up his march in the direction of Puebla to carry out his project.

We must now leave him while we refer to what passed in the division of infantry which had halted in Huehuetoca, preparing to countermarch upon Mexico. In fact they had taken the road for Cuautitlan, and not without many soldiers incurring faults against discipline and subordination, which before they had attempted to commit. Desertion also that had begun at the departure from the capital made itself now distinctly marked, since the number of soldiers who perpetrated this crime exceeded one thousand. The contagion of the disorder infected even the corps of the invalids, composed of old soldiers and warriors who many times had given proofs of their valor and constancy; and who now in a moment of forgetfulness threw a stain upon a long line of good actions. They became unmanageable almost at moments so critical that the chiefs were obliged to disarm them to avoid other outbreaks.

The force of Herrera rested for the night in Cuautitlan, intent on continuing their march on the 16th for Mexico. But this did not happen, since the new determination already mentioned of General Santa Anna, caused them to turn and take the road of Huehuetoca. This continued movement seemed farcical; the soldiers were dragged from here to there; they were ordered to go to this place, and scarcely were they seen in it when they were countermarched, and soon sent to return to where they had come from; then again it was determined for them to go back once more; and so much going and coming, badly planned, executed in disgust, useless, and lost, only served to fatigue the troops, to exasperate them the more, to encourage desertion and disorder, and to cause a continuation of those excesses that had taken place from the commencement.

They perceived the state of desperation to which the soldiers had come, who still restrained themselves, yielding to the orders and counsels of their chiefs while they remained in the ranks; but they heard no other remarks than those of indignation when they left them. The number of deserters, stragglers, and scattered, increased every instant. At one time they would go where they wished, committing injuries of all kinds: some separated from their companions, and others united as guerrilias, and left behind them, by their unbridled license, an imprint of horror in the towns through which they passed. They placed themselves in the lanes to gather the fruit. When they encountered a vineyard they seized upon it, eating without paying, and even insulting the unhappy proprietors. In the towns they endeavored to sack the stores: in the shops and eating-houses they consumed whatever eatables they met, without thinking of the price; and no consideration restrained them from satisfying their hunger and relieving their wants.

General Herrera, with incessant anxiety, endeavored to make them cease these grave disorders, now become so numerous amongst his troops, to the end that some discipline might be observed. The prestige of his name availed something, and certain measures assisted, which prudence suggested to him, for obtaining supplies, in a way less burdensome to the inhabitants on his route. He demanded provisions at the haciendas, and they were delivered with very little good will or generosity, and only to avoid greater losses. Similar conduct was observed by those who dreaded lest the soldiers should come down upon their cattle, stalls, granaries, or stacks; and who thus gave, making a virtue of necessity, what might be called forced donations; for, with few exceptions, that which was bestowed as assistance to the division was given with reluctance and ill-humor, and with the only view of being relieved from more onerous exactions.

In Tula all the stock of tobacco was taken and divided among the troops as a relief. This resulted in a complete waste of the article, in consequence of the soldiers selling what had been distributed to them at a third or fourth of its value.* In La Goleta, among other disagreeable incidents, one the most distressing to a poor poulterer occurred, whom they murdered to take away his fowls. The outrages of the stragglers and deserters continued from La Goleta to Arroyozarco, and to San Juan del Rio, and to Querétaro. As the excesses increased crimes multiplied. But it would only be a repetition of what we have already described to enter into these, and, therefore, we will content ourselves by declaring that this unhappy march brought forth all the dissolute viciousness to be expected from certain men, starving, badly treated, and crushed with toil, until the rein of discipline had been already lost, even so far as to abandoning their colors, the only thing which might have been effective in re-establishing order.

Finally, what remained of the division, which had also been guilty of some faults, arrived at Querétaro, and terminated their journey. There new hardships awaited them, and new sufferings, that ought for ever to remain unknown; but whose explanation does not pertain to this article.

We will now turn to General Santa Anna who slept on the 16th in San Juan Teotihuacan. The same symptoms of insubordination and disorder which we have noted in the division of infantry were in this also. It may strictly be said that the army became nearly destroyed when in Guadalupe it was decided that chiefs and officers who desired could withdraw, and only those followed the force that voluntarily wished to do so. The dispersion which ensued from this measure is in truth incalculable.

The army remained in Teotihuacan on the 17th, waiting for all the pickets and stragglers who had not even made their appearance. On the 18th 9 leagues were marched, the brigades still continuing under Generals Quijano and Andrade. The head-quarters came to San Lorenzo. A journey of 10 leagues upon the next day was made to the hacienda of Guadalupe. A sergeant of the squadron of Vera Cruz there gave an example of insubordination, who, after discharging his carbine among a multitude of people, urged all his companions strongly to disband and to desert. No one knows what would have been the result of this outbreak if the Husares had not checked the disorder.

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* It must be understood that this tobacco belonged to the government, or at least was in the hands of those who were indebted to the same for it. The article is one of the government monopolies.—Am. Ed.

On the 20th the brigades advanced to the towns of Chautempam and Tlaxcala, at which latter place the laughable scene took place of a guerrilia party robbing the quarters of the army. Santa Anna had determined that in this town the sergeant of the squadron of Vera Cruz should be punished for his crime and ordered to be shot. The square was already formed, and the execution was about to take place, when General Quijano and others of influence undertook to obtain a pardon for the culprit, which was procured from the General-in-chief. The crime of this one remained unpunished, and this encouragement induced the disorderly to break through all discipline and to commit excesses, and resulting thereafter in disasters sufficiently distressing.

The troops were halted in these towns until the 23d, and on the 24th they marched to the factory of Antuñano. In the morning of the 25th they entered the city of Puebla, where General Rea was met who had already been there some time fighting with his guerrilia, and with a part of the inhabitants that had with enthusiasm taken arms against the Americans. The latter were withdrawn to the hills of San Juan, Loreto, and Guadalupe and the cuartel* of San José, points which had previously been fortified.

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* The Cuartel of San José, properly speaking, is the quarters on the little plaza of that name. But, in fact, it is an extensive oblong building for troops, occupied at the time by the American soldiers. This Cuartel is so well known to

General Santa Anna was received as a savior of the people. The city collected around his soldiers, and it was observed that everywhere the public spirit was revived, while a large number of inhabitants took up arms in defence of their expiring independence. He soon returned to the Molino de Santo Domingo, where he passed the night, flattered with the idea of having a triumph, and a part of the renown of our arms returning which so constantly had been pursued by fate.

On the 26th General Alvarez advanced with the first brigade to El Carmen, and from that day commenced the firing and skirmishes with the American troops. We will speak more at large in the subsequent article upon these events, and further on we will refer to the new calamity of Huamantla.

a large portion of the army, that to call it by any other name would seem like affectation. Therefore, the word is retained, and the explanation given to prevent any misconception.—Am. Ed.

CHAPTER XXV.

PUEBLA AND HUAMANTLA.

THE morning of the 24th of September found General Santa Anna at the head of 1500 dragoons and 4 pieces of light artillery, in the neighborhood of Puebla. He had determined to enter that city, which he finally did at one o'clock in the day. The troops, fatigued by the march and the events that had preceded, unprovided with supplies, and disheartened, were not in a state to relish undertaking the siege to which they were directed. In general they accused the cavalry of having, by their disobedience, given the victories to the enemy in some of the battles of the valley: particularly in those at the Hacienda of Portales, and the Molino del Rey; at which places they refused to make the charge when ordered. However, these were the forces with which General Santa Anna proposed to protect the military operations of General D. Joaquin Rea, and to besiege the American quarter of Puebla, which was the suburb of San José within the city, and the hills of Loreto and Guadalupe that completely commanded it.* This quarter possessed about 1500 men, with heavy artillery, and was commanded by Colonel Childs.

When our army withdrew to the city of Guadalupe, Hidalgo, the General-in-chief, did not undertake this movement in consequence of a fixed plan in his future operations; but considering that the enemy's base was in Puebla, he believed that, to recover that city, General Scott would be compromised, by his communication into the heart of the Republic being cut off. Perchance General Santa Anna was also influenced by the rumors which ran at the time, that the Americans were already about to surrender, being fought by the National forces of that State, and the others commanded by General Rea.

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* Loreto and Guadalupe are in fact only one hill, on a partially elevated ridge. But the regular fort was at Loreto; and by some singular oversight, while it commanded the city, the higher eminence of Guadalupe at some half mile, commanded Loreto. Therefore, the Americans had to hold and strengthen the church of Guadalupe as well as the fort.—AM. ED.

General Santa Anna, on this evening, rode through certain streets of Puebla; and, although a crowd followed, there was only heard but the one opinion, that he would conquer. General Rea, as commandante of the place, published a decree, by which the city was declared in a state of siege, and subject to all its consequences. On the 25th General Santa Anna established his quarters in El Carmen, and transmitted an intimation to Colonel Childs, the American chief, that if he did not surrender within twenty-four hours, at discretion, he would be under the necessity of destroying him. To this Childs answered, after the time had expired, that having been honored with the charge of these points, he was resolved to die with all his forces before he would yield. From that, the hostilities, which for forty-eight hours had been suspended, were now renewed. Our firing was replied to by the enemy, keeping up a plunging discharge of cannon-balls, grenades, and rockets.*

Before General Santa Anna had arrived, General Rea, posted on the hill of San Juan, beyond the range of the fire of the Loreto, had been diligently employed in cutting off provisions from the enemy, and in introducing, in the night time, small parties into the city, where they could harass the Americans by a continual discharge upon them. These skirmishes are scarcely worth noting, except one in which a trifling advantage was obtained; and the same may be said of all the movements practised until the 28th, when a detachment of the enemy was repulsed by the infantry of General Rea, who designed to penetrate into the central streets to procure provisions. This performance excited the enthusiasm of the people; and, boasting of the victory to the Republic and to the chiefs, they proceeded to El Carmen, beseeching General Santa Anna's permission to take the light pieces, situated in the Plazuela, to batter the enemy with them.

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* It is difficult to tell what is intended in the text by the grenades. The American army had no grenades, as that projectile has gone out of use, although the Mexicans still have them in their ordnance stores. It is true strapnel shot were discharged from some pieces, and were destructive amongst the crowd in the main Plaza. In breaking through the walls of houses, as was done by Captain Small of the Pennsylvania regiment and others, it was thought hand-grenades would be useful; but it was found that hollow shot, with a short fuse, could be employed for the same purpose. These, however, in fact were not discharged except in the pieces. The rockets were of very little service.—Am. Ed.

General Santa Anna consented, and a four-pounder, drawn by peasants, was in a moment planted at Santa Rosa, fronting another of eight, which the enemy had at the distance of three hundred yards.* Ours was soon dismounted, notwithstanding entrenched behind balls of cotton: the enemy having broken to pieces the left wheel. But in spite of this, the officer commanding would have continued to fire had not the commandante of the post prevented him.

Colonel Childs, civil and military governor of Puebla, in his report made to General Scott, increased the forces of the besiegers and the merit of his troops in their defence. A simple reader of this document might believe that he was treating of a siege of twenty-eight days, as Childs asserts, and sustained as a most brilliant feat of arms. It is not the first time that the American chiefs have enhanced the value of their victories by a sparing use of the truth. On the 24th of September the city of Puebla was declared to be in a state of siege; and on the 1st of October it was raised by General Santa Anna on his retiring with his command to Huamantla. During all this time, and even before, there was nothing done except harassing the enemy with skirmishes of less or more consequence. Amongst these, the events only of the 28th mentioned, and those of the 30th, can be accounted of any consideration. The latter affair was simply placing in the morning a six-piece in the district of Alto, in a commanding point, which was able to produce a favorable result sustained by 20 men of the company of Huachinango.

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* This piece was planted at the church at the foot of the hill nearest to Guadalupe. It will be known as the place where the hospitals of the American army once were. It is a short distance from the pleasure-garden of Tivoli. The piece that silenced this performance was one of twelve commanded by Lieutenant Laidley of the ordnance corps.—Am. Ed.

Such were the only movements that General Santa Anna undertook to gain the cuartel of San José and to occupy the hills of Loreto and Guadalupe. In front of more than 2,000 infantry and as many cavalry, with the auxiliaries which were on the road of the troops of General Reyes, and then with sufficient artillery to execute a grand movement, he employed himself entirely in skirmishing, without remembering the thundering intimation with which he had menaced Colonel Childs.*

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* Col. Childs stated the enemy's forces at what General Santa Anna declared they were in his note to him demanding a surrender. He has, therefore, taken their own word for their numbers, nor was it far from the truth. In fact, there were more than 8000 Mexicans engaged in the siege.

As to the duration of the siege, it will be difficult to make the Americans believe they were not under the operation of one, when they had all their supplies cut off and were reduced to half rations, even to the absence of meat, before Santa Anna had retreated from the city of Mexico.

That the Mexicans made but few active attempts against the Americans is most true. But still the siege had gone on, in cutting off all supplies on the part of the city with the infantry and on the part of the country with their cavalry. The guns of Loreto fired to every point of the compass as well as the mountain howitzers at Guadalupe, long before Santa Anna's arrival.

A handful of men, two thirds of whom were invalids, defended themselves

The siege of Puebla, if the military operations of Santa Anna at that city deserve the name, was an event of no importance to the war. The regular cavalry and the greater part of the infantry under his orders did nothing on that occasion except desolating the fields in the neighborhood of Puebla and oppressing the peaceful inhabitants around.

The want of a plan on the part of General Santa Anna perhaps prevented us often gaining a victory, since the fact is indisputable that this General was not accustomed to attack the enemy with all his forces. Thus before it happened that in the valley of Mexico in almost all the battles which were undertaken against the whole American army only one portion of ours was engaged, the greater number remaining in expectation for orders to operate. If in Puebla all our forces had been brought into action, Colonel Childs would have seen an attack not to be resisted, even at least in the numerical superiority we could count upon.

On the 1st of October General Santa Anna took the division which he had at Puebla in the direction of El Pinal, having received notice of the approach of a convoy of wagons with supplies, provisions, and some reinforcements of troops destined for Puebla and Mexico under the orders of General Lane. General Santa Anna carried with him 2,500 infantry, as many more cavalry, and 6 light pieces, according to the best calculation that could be made at Amo-

against an army. By their bold front, by their not even permitting their pickets to be driven in, they kept at bay the city, backed with regular and national troops and with the President of the Republic at the head, and because these did not dare to attack, therefore they think there was no merit in the defence. In fact the Mexican operations were so harassing, that the unanimous wish among the Americans was for them to come on in full force and to end it, as it most certainly would have ended, in the raising of the siege. A regular storming of the Cuartel, Guadalupe, and Loreto, would have been an agreeable variety, with all its bloodshed, to the harassing, never ending skirmishes both day and night, to which all the garrison was constantly exposed.—Am. Ed.

zoc, at which town all the forces were united at noon on that day. From thence they marched to Nopolucan.

On the 3d of October our forces were passed in review at Nopolucan. More than 1,000 infantry of the National Guard of Puebla, and certain others of the line had deserted in the two preceding days. This new lesson taught General Santa Anna what was his true situation. Dispirited by the series of reverses suffered, he determined to send back the infantry to Puebla, to order over to Oajaca the six pieces of artillery, escorted by the squadron of that state, while he would proceed to Huamantla with the less than 2,000 cavalry that remained. He had already placed these corps on their routes, and the artillery was found in San Andres Chalchicomula, when he sent to the latter a counter order to return to Nopolucan along with the mentioned squadron. In consequence they turned back in two days after their departure. Now, there scarcely remained more than 1,000 dragoons. Not only had many soldiers deserted, but also officers, principally of the Husares, which at other times had been the corps distinguished by General Santa Anna.

On the 8th of October these forces were assembled in Huamantla, with the order to march on the following day. General Santa Anna had received information that the American convoy had changed its direction by leaving Huamantla to one side. Under this intelligence, he determined on the troops going forth and he passed them in review in the morning of the 9th. He ordered that the artillery and park should remain in the town, and the artillerymen at rest, without any further fatigue than that of keeping a guard of eight men over the pieces. It was not the first time General Santa Anna had shown his want of prudence in committing this kind of indiscretion.

Within two hours after General Santa Anna had departed a peasant came to the officers of the artillery, to inform them that the enemy were advancing hastily to the town to seize the pieces which they knew would be met without a guard. The officers of artillery, Segura and Gil, who were in Huamantla, as soon as they were persuaded of the truth of this information determined to prepare the trains either to evacuate the place, or to resist if it were possible, to preserve the cannon, and to save at least all that they could. This happened at the very time the enemy were entering the town, and they, therefore, began to collect the artillerymen to supply the guns. At this time Captain D. Febronio Quijano determined to plant a piece at the end of a street by which the enemy were advancing, and served by eight men and two sergeants, whom he had united, while the others should be withdrawn safely in an opposite direction to Nopolucan, distant three leagues from Huamantla. The first fire of this gun, discharged by Captain Quijano, checked for an instant the march of the enemy, and four pieces were saved. But a different fate awaited the others, in spite of Quijano's exertions, and the one in use as well as a field howitzer on a gun carriage, which was the last to leave, were overtaken by the Americans and captured.

When the enemy were about to enter Huamantla the people asked for arms to defend the place. But the same people, in two hours after, viewed with indifference the movements of the army. They only desired now to spare their families and homes from the horrors and destruction which the enemy undoubtedly would inflict. The people, likewise, in Mexico wished to defend themselves at the time when the enemy were taking possession of the capital. But why did they not make the proper exertions when they had time to prepare for resistance? * * * * About 100 American mounted riflemen, divided into small detachments, rode around the vicinity, while their infantry, formed in line, penetrated to the plaza, where in a few moments they concentrated their force. The piece situated at the entrance after the first firing, and when already two of the men at it were wounded, was abandoned by Captain Quijano, who moved off with his few soldiers to join the others, and carried away the remainder of the artillery, which were saved.*

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* As this account varies greatly from the report of General Lane, respecting the number of guns captured, it may not be improper to state, that if seeing

When the last of these passed to the side of the town in the direction of Tlaxcala, Capt. Sanchez Travieso appeared in great haste, although he had not been seen during the affair, and ordered them to halt. He forthwith discharged the six cannon to check the advance of the enemy, who were marching rapidly to overtake the other trains, that were continuing their movement to pass the night in the hacienda of San Diego, on their route to Tlaxcala.

The Americans occupied the churches and principal edifices in the town, perpetrating the greatest excesses, and crowning, as they did everywhere, their victory, with sacking and destruction.

When our artillery withdrew, and the American infantry occupied the high points of the town, the cavalry of General Santa Anna arrived in the suburbs. This general had intended to attack the rear-guard of the American convoy on its passage, which was to be done at El Pinal, and in fact he was already posted at that point as we believe with the most suitable dispositions to strike the blow, when he received the advice that the enemy were proceeding to take Huamantla, with a small detachment. He therefore ordered Captain D. Eulalio Villaseñor, with a party of 35 men, to march with rapidity to protect Huamantla, while in the meantime he would follow with the rest of the division. But as will be seen in the official report, upon his arrival it was impossible to dislodge the enemy from the positions they had taken.

The occupation of Huamantla was owing exclusively to the insufficiency of the force that defended the town. But still it was expensive to the enemy. When Captain Villaseñor with his 35 men belonging to the police of Puebla appeared in compliance with the order of the General-in-chief, the enemy were robbing all the buildings, sacking

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the pieces in the possession of the American army is any evidence of the truth of Lane's report, that fact can here be asserted. Having had occasion to examine these pieces one or two days after the battle, there cannot be any doubt as to the number, nor where taken. General Lane's report is correct in every particular.—AM. ED.

private houses, assassinating the unhappy inmates who did not immediately comply with their wishes, and in fact were committing all manner of outrages, so that even the American chiefs had to endeavor, but in vain, to stop them. But our valiant Captain, without drawing off on seeing the inhabitants overcome by numbers a hundred times greater than his own, entered to the plaza, having divided his party into two sections. They lanced the enemy in all the streets that they rode through, and withdrew after a long time from this affair, when the enemy concentrated in their positions could not be assailed by our cavalry, and having been during the whole engagement under a continual fire. Captain Villaseñor retired to report to the General-in-chief the result of his affair, having left three of his number killed, and more than fifty of the enemy. Among the latter was an officer, a partisan chief, badly wounded, who died the same night before reaching Nopalucan where he was taken in a coach seized by force. This captain was the terrible Texan Walker, who with his guerrilia had strewed death and desolation on the road to Vera Cruz.

Justice requires that we should pay a tribute to Captain Villaseñor of our homage in gratitude and honor; and especially since General Santa Anna has not even mentioned him in his report to the Supreme Government on these events; notwithstanding all the inhabitants of Huamantla made upon Villaseñor the highest eulogiums, and who on appearing before Santa Anna bore the most evident confirmation on his arm and lance red with the blood of the enemy. The legislature of Puebla has in due form voted to this good citizen a lance of gold in testimony of their admiration and acknowledgment for what they have seen of this brilliant action.

The Americans sallied out from this place at sun-down on the same day, the 9th, taking with them the four-pounder and howitzer: and the gun-carriage as well as the four park wagons and the other articles were destroyed. Some dragoons of General Santa Anna stimulated by the conduct of Villaseñor, aspired to follow his example and penetrated through the streets of Huamantla to its centre. But other chiefs, officers, and troops were met dispersed three leagues from Huamantla in consequence of a small American detachment having made its appearance on the 10th. General Staboli attacked this with the cavalry, killing some, and making about 20 prisoners, with whom he returned to Huamantla to present them to Santa Anna, who had entered this town on the morning of the same day.

This undertaking had cost the enemy severely. But it was no less expensive to Santa Anna and the nation. Where was now the army that had marched to besiege Puebla? How had it disappeared? Consumption destroyed it; and scarcely a miserable remnant was met when General Reyes, who had gone to reinforce General Santa Anna, took the command of it. This was by virtue of an order of the 7th of October, which deposed the ex-President, and subjected him to a court-martial.

The troops that had evacuated Huamantla returned united to the hacienda of San Diego, where they arrived and joined in the evening the brigade of General Reyes, which had come there on the morning of the 11th. Meanwhile, the division of General Alvarez and the forces of General Santa Anna not following up the convoy withdrew on the 13th, and left Puebla consigned to the vengeance of General Lane. His troops composed of ferocious and undisciplined volunteers spread through the city, committed a thousand excesses, and robbed and set fire to houses, all, without doubt, as a castigation for the past attempts at reaction and as a menace for the future.

General Reyes joining General Santa Anna at Huamantla, the latter received an order to deliver the command of the army to General D. Manuel Rincon, or in his absence to General Alvarez, and in particular to inform him of the place where he wished to reside during the time the court should be held which was about to be opened. This was the last blow General Santa Anna was to suffer and to which he could not resign himself. It is asserted that he intended to disobey the government and to pronounce with the division if he could obtain its support. He thought also of revoking his resignation, and of publishing another decree resuming his power which he had abdicated, and it is even said that he had named Sres. D. Domingo Ibarra, and D. Fernando María Ortega, as members of his revolutionary cabinet. But the suggestions of the first of these gentlemen made him desist from this extravagant project, the validity of which he pretended to sustain moreover in the communications addressed to the supreme government relative to the above order of the 7th of October. The actual result was, General Santa Anna delivered up the command to General Reyes, as neither Rincon nor Alvarez was there, and retired to Tehuacan.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ALTA CALIFORNIA.

About a year before the commencement of the war, a band of adventurers, proceeding from the United States, and scattering over the vast territory of California, awaited only the signal of the emissaries of the government of that country, to take the first step in the contest for usurpation. Various acts committed by those adventurers, in violation of the laws of the country, indicated their intentions. But, unfortunately, the authorities then existing, divided among themselves, neither desired, nor knew how, to avert the tempest.

In the month of February, 1846, Captain Fremont, an engineer of the United States army, entered the Mexican territory, with a force of mounted riflemen, under the pretext of a scientific commission, and solicited, and obtained from the Commandante-general, D. José Castro, permission to traverse the country.

Three months afterwards, on the 19th of May, that same force and their commander took possession by armed force, and surprised the important town of Sonoma, seizing all the artillery, armaments, &c., which it contained. The adventurers scattered along the river Sacramento, amounting to about four hundred men, having joined that force, they proclaimed for themselves and on their own authority, the independence of California, raising a rose-colored flag with a bear and a star. The first results of this scandalous proceeding were the plundering the property of some Mexicans and the assassination of others, who, faithful to their duty to the country, wished to make resistance.

The Commandante-general demanded explanations on the subject of the commander of an American ship of war, anchored in the bay of San Francisco; and, although it was positively known that munitions, arms, and clothing were sent on shore to the adventurers, the commander replied, that "neither the government of the United States nor the subalterns had any part in that insurrection, and that the Mexican authorities ought, therefore, to punish its authors in conformity with the laws."

On the 7th of July, of the same year, the American squadron took possession of the defenceless town of Monterey, in the name of their government, and summoned the Commandante-general to deliver up all the towns and fortresses of the state. On the same day Captain Fremont, at the head of the insurgent adventurers, and in combination with the commodore, proceeded by land to the port of Monterey, and all the artillery and supplies which he found on his way falling into his power, which the Commandante-general would not transport, on his retreat for the city of Los Angeles. Thus was completed the occupation of all the towns in Northern California.

On the 7th of August the American squadron, under the command of Commodore Stockton, anchored in the port of San Pedro, nine leagues from the city of Los Angeles, and immediately landed four hundred men and some artillery, with which force and that of Captain Fremont, by land, he occupied that city on the 15th of the same month. The political and military authorities, who did not deem it prudent to resist the invaders, with the armed portion of the population, dispersed the whole force and emigrated to the State of Sonora. All the artillery, therefore, and some stores found in the city fell into the enemy's hands. The ports of San Diego and Santa Barbara were occupied by the American forces. Thus the occupation of Alta California was effected without the least resistance.

The greater part of the American forces, with Commodore Stockton, who was appointed governor of the province, was placed in the ports of Monterey and San Francisco, leaving the garrisons in the southern towns, of San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara. A proclamation by the American governor announced that the country would be under a military government.

In the meantime, the patriotic fire burned in the hearts of the majority of the citizens. The hatred to the invaders was becoming general, particularly in the towns of the first district, where the impolitic and despotic conduct of the military authority exasperated their minds. They prepared a reaction, and waited only for an opportunity. In the city of Los Angeles, several citizens were imprisoned on suspicion, and treated with cruelty.

A single cause, the want of arms and supplies for the continuance of the war, delayed the revolution. But the patriotism of that town overcame everything in inducing them to undertake an unequal contest, with the hope that Mexico would not abandon so rich and interesting a part of her territory.

To form an idea of the efforts and sacrifices of those people, it is necessary to describe some of the towns in California.

It was organized in two districts. The first was formed by the city of Los Angeles, the capital, the town of San Diego, and Santa Barbara; and its inhabitants do not exceed six thousand.

The second consisted of the town of San Louis Obispo, the forts of Monterey, with other settlements to the north, to Sonoma; and the number of its inhabitants does not exceed three thousand five hundred, or four thousand.

The theatre of the war was in the towns of the South, so that those who sustained it were the inhabitants of the first district. Some citizens of the second, who, with their prefect at their head, gave proofs of valor and patriotism, united their efforts with those of their countrymen of the South.

On the morning of the 23d of September, 1846, a portion of the people of the city of Los Angeles, commanded by the captain of auxiliaries, D. Cérvulo Varela, badly armed, threw themselves upon the quarters of the Americans, who, discovering them, soon succeeded in repelling the attack. However, that attempt was sufficient to intimidate the Americans, who confined their defence to the precincts of the place.

This was the signal of alarm for all the citizens. On the 24th of September, D. José María Flores, a captain in the army, being placed at the head of the people, established his camp at a quarter of a league from the position of the Americans. From that moment both men and boys assembled from all parts, to form a corps against the common enemy, bringing all the arms which they could procure. Women, also, presented themselves, models of valor and patriotism. Some led their sons, even the smallest, to take arms; others served as spies around the enemy; others brought upon their shoulders arms, powder, and lead, which they had buried to preserve them, and passed through the military posts to bring them to the patriot camp. In short, all proclaimed the liberty and independence of their country, in the very city occupied by the enemy.

On the 25th, the Californians being collected to the number of 500, the commandante pressed the siege of the city. He had several partial encounters, in which the advantage was always on the side of the besiegers.

On the 26th, ninety Americans, well armed, who came to assist the place, having been overtaken at the little river of El Chiro, after a vigorous resistance surrendered, and were made prisoners by the troop commanded by the captain of auxiliaries, D. Cervulo Varela, and Lieutenant Diego Sepulveda.

On the 27th, 28th, and 29th, the military operations against the town were continued. In consequence of which the American forces evacuated it on the 30th, under a capitulation, stipulating that they should have the munitions of war, and be allowed to go out with their arms and two pieces of artillery to the port of San [illegible]o, where they should deliver them all to a corps of Mexican [illegible]ops, and then embark for the port of Monterey.

This display of noble generosity by the Californians was ill-returned by the commandante of the capitulated troops; for, laughing at the vigilance of the corps of observation, he embarked by stealth, leaving the artillery spiked, and remained on board an American vessel anchored in the port.

After the occupation of the city of Los Angeles, it was necessary to put in action all the means of attack, to liberate the towns of San Diego and Santa Barbara garrisoned by detachments of the enemy.

To dislodge them, and to give protection to the inhabitants, the Commandante-general ordered two sections of troops to march: that of Santa Barbara, under the commandante of the squadron of auxiliaries, D. Manuel Garfias; and that of San Diego under a captain of the same army, D. Francisco Rico. For this purpose the forces in the head-quarters of Los Angeles were very much reduced.

On the 6th of October, an American frigate arrived in the port of San Pedro, to aid the capitulated troops, who remained on board a merchant vessel.

On the following day they debarked, and took up their march for the city of Los Angeles with a column of 500 men, composed of the capitulated riflemen, and the infantry of the line, and marines. At that critical moment there were only 160 men in the garrison, as the greater part of the citizens who had formed the forces were herdsmen, or laborers, and had obtained permission to go to their ranchos. It was necessary, however, at all events, to prevent the entrance of the enemy into the city; consequently the chief commandante ordered the commandante of the auxiliary squadron, D. José Antonio Carrillo, to go out immediately, with 50 horse, to fight them and to check their advancing, while he collected all the force possible.

The Commandante Carrillo behaved gallantly; for, with only 50, he checked the enemy, and caused them to halt in the rancho of San Pedro, six leagues from the city and three from the port.

At seven in the evening the Commandante Flores joined him with 50 horse and a piece of artillery, and a four-pounder, which, with much labor, had been mounted on a cart.

On the morning of the 8th, the enemy commenced their march in close column, throwing out their flankers to the right and left, and intending to force a passage through the Mexican cavalry, which was formed in line of battle on both sides of the road, supporting the piece. The firing opened from a right and left. That of the Mexican artillery being well directed caused a terrible slaughter in the enemy's column. At the end of an hour of active firing, the column was repulsed, with great loss, and compelled to retreat to the fort, where they immediately embarked, leaving the field covered with spoils, and one flag. On that occasion the American troops owed their safety to the total want of offensive arms among the Mexican cavalry, who could not advantageously charge upon infantry with the carbine. The American troops remained in the vessels anchored in the port of San Pedro.

All the towns in the south, to San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and a part of San Diego, were occupied by the Mexican forces; the National flag was saluted and the local authorities were reinstated.

On the 29th of October the legislative body opened their sessions, appointing Captain D. José María Flores, Governor and Comandante-general of the Department, ad interim, whom they invested with extraordinary powers, to provide for the defence of the country.

All the towns were convoked en masse. The new government, for want of supplies of all kinds, excited the patriotism and generosity of the inhabitants, and had the satisfaction of seeing that not one failed to contribute, in person and property, to the defence of the country. All cheerfully left their fields and flocks, the only patrimony of their families, and, full of enthusiasm, presented themselves, armed or unarmed, to fight the common enemy. A single sentiment, a single desire, and the same wish animated their hearts—the salvation of the country!

The Commandante-general concentrated his forces in the city of Los Angeles, leaving all the points of the coast garrisoned with detachments, which guarded it constantly, to prevent the enemy from obtaining provisions and other means for transporting their troops.

After the 8th of October the American forces, which remained at anchor in the roadstead of the harbor of San Pedro, were reinforced by those of Commodore Stockton, who effected a landing on the 1st of November, with 800 men and some artillery, for the purpose of taking possession of the city. On ascertaining, however, the Mexican force, he changed his intention, re-embarked his troops, and removed the squadron to the fort of San Diego, where he established the American head-quarters, 50 leagues from Los Angeles.

As it was indispensable to prevent the enemy obtaining provisions, cattle, and other means of transport, for a movement by land, a section of troops was marched to San Diego, to join a company of citizens who had been armed there, to besiege the place, and to prevent the going out of parties of the enemy.

This operation had the most favorable result, the enemy being compelled to obtain provisions from Lower California, by making use of their smaller vessels for this purpose.

Another small section, under the command of the indefatigable prefect, Captain D. Manuel Castro, marched for the northern posts, to protect the movement of these people, and to distract the attention of the enemy.

That section had a sharp encounter on the 16th of November, on the field of La Natividad, 8 leagues north of the port of Monterey, with the troops of Captain Fremont, who were repulsed with some loss.

At the close of November, a section of 300 Americans entered California, by the Sonora road, coming from New Mexico, with three pieces of artillery, under the command of General Kearney. The Commandante, wishing to avoid their junction with the enemy's forces, occupying the town of San Diego, sent one hundred horse by a forced march, under the commandante of squadron, D. Andres Pico, who in conjunction with the forces besieging San Diego, were to operate against Kearney's section and fight him if an opportunity should offer itself. On the morning of the 6th of December, General Kearney, who had received assistance from the town, intending to force his way through the besieging troops, and to introduce himself into it, met the troops of General Pico. The latter making a feigned retreat, returned with such impetuosity upon the American cavalry, that he succeeded in effectually dispersing them and killing above 40. More than 80 were wounded, among whom was General Kearney: and a piece of artillery was taken with its ammunition, along with the arms and spoils of the dead and wounded, and some prisoners. The remainder of the infantry and artillery immediately took possession of an eminence, where, on account of the roughness of the ground, the cavalry of Commandante Pico could not operate. He, however, kept these confined to that position for five days. At this time a force of 400 men, with artillery, left San Diego, for their assistance, and conducted them into the town.

An unfortunate accident that had a terrible influence upon the subsequent events of the war in this country, prevented the Commandante-General from marching to the assistance of the section of Pico, by which the rout of General Kearney might have been completed. The prisoners of war were confined in the city of Los Angeles, and the Commandante-General determined to transfer them to the state of Sonora, which they wished to prevent at all hazards. They succeeded in seducing some individuals and the troops in the place; and by false promises and threats, engaged them in a conspiracy, whose object was to depose the Governor and Commandante-General, and which broke out in the night of December 3d. Although order was restored in twenty-four hours, it was impossible to prevent the dispersion of a great part of the troops; some because they had become disaffected by the disorder. This prevented the Commandante-General from making his expected movement, and had an effect upon the troops who were fighting the enemy in San Diego, and those operating against General Kearney. The former dispersed from fear, on appearing before the enemy, and the latter left the field of victory to go to the assistance of the Commandante-General. Consequently the road was left open to the enemy, from San Diego to Los Angeles. In the beginning of December Captain Fremont, with a section of 700 mounted riflemen, and four light pieces, in conjunction with the forces at head-quarters of San Diego, moved from the northern settlements upon the city of Los Angeles, and the town of Santa Barbara fell into his hands.

On the 28th of December, Commodore Stockton being provided with transportation advanced from San Diego by land, upon the city of Los Angeles, with his forces, consisting of 1000 infantry and 8 pieces of artillery. To these divisions of the enemy, 500 cavalry could only be opposed, badly armed, and worse provided, with three small pieces of artillery in the same condition. Notwithstanding this disproportionate force, a section, under the command of Captain D. José Carrillo, remained, fighting the advanced guard of Fremont's division, and endeavored to keep it in check, while the Commandante-General marched to meet Stockton's division. On the 8th of January, 1847, a close action took place between the two forces, three leagues from Los Angeles, which ended with daylight, leaving the Americans in possession of the field, they having repulsed the Mexican cavalry with some loss. On the 9th, the Mexicans returned to attack the enemy, but with no better success than on the day before. For being in want of arms and supplies, and only 300 in number, they were twice repulsed by the very effective force of the American squares. The enemy, however, were checked, one league from the city. This was the last exertion made by the sons of California, for the liberty and independence of their country whose defence will always do them honor, since without supplies, without means or instruction, they rushed into an unequal contest, in which they more than once taught the invaders what a people can do, who fight in defence of their rights.

On the 10th of January the city of Los Angeles was occupied by the American forces, and the loss of that rich, vast, and precious part of the Mexican territory was consummated.

The Commandante-General was now without means of defence to rely upon, and without supplies. His force consequently dispersed, overwhelmed by very superior numbers. He was therefore obliged to emigrate with some of the natives of the country, to the State of Sonora, passing immense deserts, and suffering unheard-of privations.*

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* This chapter varies greatly from the American reports of the same operations in California. It would therefore take up too much space to here point out the discrepancies in the respective statements.—Am. Ed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

RESIDENCE OF THE AMERICANS IN MEXICO.

In the days succeeding the 14th, 15th, and 16th of September, 1847, the Americans distributed their troops in the city, placing pieces of artillery in each garita, and in the direction of each causeway. They took all proper precautions during the night, to resist a new insurrection, or the better against surprise, in their quarters situated in the districts from some of the numerous guerrilia parties roaming through the villages in the valley of Mexico. But a month afterwards, confidence was perfectly restored and the enemy greatly diminished their military arrangements, leaving only one 24-pounder and a mortar in the gate of the Palace. Moreover, the inhabitants of Mexico, who had emigrated, began to return, considering themselves safer in the capital than in the small towns.

The American officers, proud of the conquest which they had made, well pleased to find themselves almost in complete security in the capital of the Republic, and persuaded that an insurrection was hardly to be apprehended, began to arrange a complete system of amusements.

Several actors, urged by necessity or some other motive, engaged themselves to represent some comedies. The manager of the National Theatre found no great difficulty in renting the place, and the vanquished city began to display its attractions to the conqueror. Cañete was the fascination and idol of the American chiefs, and the street of the Vergara every night presented an appearance of life and animation, to which it had been accustomed, ever since the perseverance of Sr. Arbeu had erected that magnificent edifice. A few teamsters and soldiers represented comedies in German and English, in the Theatre of New Mexico.

Those who were not particularly fond of theatricals, organized dancing in imitation of the fashion in the United States. A ballroom was opened in the street of the Colisco, opposite the principal theatre, another in the alley of the Balemitas, and a third, the most crowded of all, was found in the hotel of the Bella Union. The rooms of that mansion were full of officers. In the lower apartments there was gambling, on the second floor drinking saloons, billiards and halls for dancing, and those above were chiefly devoted to purposes which propriety will not permit us to mention. From nine o'clock in the evening until two or three in the morning, their orgies continued, which never had been seen before in Mexico. The Mexican fair sex were more abundant than could have been wished, consisting chiefly of wicked, and sometimes allured girls, or obliged by want to exchange their honor for a piece of bread for their families.

The officers, beyond these public measures for their own diversion, so to speak, began to scatter themselves as lodgers in all parts of Mexico, and praising the beauty of the country and the Mexican ladies, went on by degrees forming acquaintances and inspiring confidence in families.

According to data which we have seen, General Scott occupied the city with only 7,000 or 8,000 men. But afterwards some new regiments of infantry and cavalry, principally volunteers, arrived from the United States, and from the garrisons on the road.

A day seldom passed in the capital, without the attention of the inhabitants being attracted to the arrival of new forces, so that in two months after the enemy's entrance into Mexico, the aspect of the city was wholly changed. From five in the morning until seven in the evening, innumerable wagons passed through the streets in all directions. Most of the convents of monks and friars were converted into quarters and hospitals, and groups of volunteers, with six-barrelled pistols and large hunting knives in their belts, traversed the city, and filled the drinking shops and cafés. The regular troops were dressed in blue, but the volunteers and the multitude of adventurers who came with the army went about with their boots over their pantaloons, and with ridiculous hats and garments, so that they looked like clowns at a carnival.

The rest of the crowd, except the rifles and some other well-organized corps, made a public display of their gluttony and intemperance, and of their extreme filthiness and rude manners, entirely at variance with the habits of the races of the Southern climates. Persons who have resided a long time in the United States cannot believe that such was the army of a nation, which has pretended to place itself in the vanguard of civilization, and whose citizens believe themselves the most enlightened in the world. Among the regular officers, particularly the artillery and engineers, some young men of education and study might be recognised; but the officers of volunteers in general had the same rough manners as the soldiers, whom they treated with a familiarity far from conducive to good discipline. Every observing man wondered how those bands of vicious volunteers, without discipline, without subordination, and without experience in the management of arms, or knowledge of tactics, could have conquered our battalions, who were so well trained, instructed, obedient, patient, and, to say still more, so valiant. The reader must have remarked already, in perusing these hasty notes, the causes which produced the loss of the battles. This continued affluence of foreigners, most of whom spoke English, occasioned a change in business. The tailors' shops, which had been called Mexican, were converted into American; and tailors, barbers, store-keepers, bar-keepers, and hotel-keepers, felt the influence of the language of the conqueror, and hastened to substitute for their signs and advertisements other signs and advertisements in the English language. Commerce, which is commerce in all places, soon had an understanding with the new governors, and began to make negotiations and speculations with those who were disposed to calculate only their pecuniary profits. A few and honorable exceptions must be made from this general rule, one of which was D. Gregorio Mier y Teran, who, neither by himself nor by any third person, was willing to enter into any kind of speculation, and even refused to sell maize, when a body of troops went to the hacienda of San Nicolas in search of it. That patriotic conduct was very honorable, and we mention it with much pleasure.

This was, in general, the condition in which the capital remained for several months. The rich, secluded in their houses, or retired in their haciendas, saw what passed with indifference. Avaricious merchants speculated, and those who belonged to the middle class were sometimes reduced to ask alms. Selfish office-holders, who had other means of subsistence, deserted the government, believing that the conquest was complete and final. The populace, heroic from the beginning, continued for some days displaying their vengeance, and making away with a few American soldiers occasionally by means of the dagger. But it ended at length in their proud conquerors humiliating them. What passed in Mexico at this time was not new, but similar to that which has happened in all countries in the world that have been suddenly subdued.

The Ayuntamiento, whom we have seen resisting the tempest of the 14th and 15th of September, continued for some time in their municipal functions. They contracted a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars with D. Juan Manuel Lasquety and D. Alejandro Bellangé, to pay General Scott the price of the securities promised to the city, giving the bankers a premium of fifteen per cent., and hypothecating all the rents of the District. We do not consider this a high premium, considering the service, although those interested were perfectly secure of being reimbursed, even in case of the continuance of the war. The same Ayuntamiento also took charge of the custom-house, the system of which they greatly simplified. The post-office was given to D. Anselmo Zurutuza, proprietor of the establishment of diligences. The rent of the tobacco in the District was committed to the management of D. Vicente Pozo; and the direct taxes to some of clerks of that branch. The loan, with its premiums and interests, was paid by the indemnity; and propriety and public integrity required, that, after the enemy had evacuated the capital, the Ayuntamiento should give account to the nation of the disbursement of those funds. Without attempting to make any commentary, we regret it as a fact, that up to the present date, the Ayuntamiento have not published the report which we expected.

Although at first it seemed as if the harmony existing between the American authorities and the councils would not be interrupted, yet there was daily some cause for disgust. The Americans, as if to punish the trifling faults of our common people, condemned Mexican culprits to public punishment at the whipping-post: the Ayuntamiento protested, and the enemy answered that it was a right and custom established by military laws. The city at night was unsafe, dark, and given up to the mercy of robbers, traitors, contra-guerrillias, and the drunken volunteers, who strayed about, armed and committing burglaries and other crimes. The Ayuntamiento complained and the American Governor replied, that the reports were exaggerated, and asked them to state the facts, which being impossible, rendered the complaints useless and fruitless. Finally, warm disputes arose concerning quarters for the troops, and the Ayuntamiento was dissolved. * * * It remained to be seen, whether anybody would take their place.

This was very easy. A representation was drawn up and was signed by a few obscure and unknown persons. These men assumed to speak for all the inhabitants of the District. They held their elections and formed, under the auspices and protection of the conqueror, a municipal assembly, conferring upon it powers to make numerous reforms, of course agreeable to the Americans, and in conformity with their wishes. In the American army was a party for annexation, composed of those who made money at the expense of the national treasury; and that party found, we will not say an echo, but vile instruments in a handful of men, either too ignorant or deeply depraved. This was in short, the origin of the celebrated municipal assembly, which made its appearance in the District; and the same population that had squandered their treasures and poured out their blood in their own defence, a short time before, now, like a disloyal city, abandoned an unfortunate government, opposed by partisans, and embraced with zeal the cause of their conquerors, and became for ever renegades to their flag, to their independence, and to their rights. Fortunately the distinction had been very plainly drawn between the insanity of a small faction and the will of an entire city.

The president of that assembly was D. Francisco Suarez Iriarte, who had been minister of state and deputy to the general congress ! ! !

The other counsellors were persons of such insignificance, that it would be a tedious labor to introduce their names into these notes.

Those who composed the assembly did not confine themselves to performing their functions as legislators, judges, and executive, that had been abolished; but they carried so far their degradation as to give General Scott a dinner in the refectory of the Carmelites, where they drank toasts for the victories of the American arms in the valley of Mexico.

It would be excusable to say, that these actions deserve general reprobation, and that their authors were fully and speedily undeceived, seeing themselves abandoned by the Americans, ejected from their offices, and obliged to hide themselves at the moment when negotiations for peace were established.

The quarrels by day between the American soldiers and the populace, the robberies at night, and the spectacle of those who were whipped, sometimes Mexicans and sometimes Americans, were such common and usual things, that no one at length noticed them.

Some occurrences, however, claimed public attention. One of these was the accusation made against General Scott to the Government of the United States, by General Pillow and Colonel Duncan, of the artillery. The government of the United States ordered a court of inquiry; and the conqueror of Mexico, as General Scott was called, found himself brought, like a criminal, before a military tribunal, and deprived of the command, which he conferred on General Butler, who, about that time, had arrived in Mexico, at the head of a legion of volunteers.

The hall which they prepared for the trial, was the same that is devoted to the Supreme Court of Justice. The court consisted of Generals Towson and Cushing, and Lieutenant-Colonel Belknap. Scott presented himself, accompanied by his staff, and took his seat on the left of the tribunal and to the right of his accusers. After the reading of the charges, which substantially were confined to the actions of the Bridge of Churubusco and Molino del Rey, General Scott, who is of a tall and erect stature, and was simply dressed in a blue frock coat and pantaloons, rose, and with a firm and energetic voice said: That the calumnies of his enemies had at length prevailed with his government, and they had made him descend from the high rank of General-in-chief of an army, to that of a mere criminal, dragged to the culprit's seat, but that, in spite of all, he felt that the Almighty had given him the physical and moral strength requisite to triumph over his enemies. The court did not allow him to continue this kind of defiance, and ordered him to draw up in writing all that he might have to communicate. The trial was in public and lasted for many days, until General Scott returned to the United States, deprived of his military command, leaving reflecting men to admire the moral force of the American government, which, by a single slip of paper, written at the distance of two thousand leagues, could humble a proud and victorious soldier and make him descend from his exalted position. We believe this step was a measure of profound policy on the part of the cabinet of the United States.

When General Taylor had at one time acquired sufficient popularity by his campaigns in the north, General Scott was put forward, as his rival; and when Scott had caused the renown of old General Taylor to be forgotten, the executive wished the people of the United States to forget both these leaders, in order that the military spirit should never prevail, which is so prejudicial to countries governed by the federal system.

Another of those occurrences which greatly occupied public attention was the sentence of death, pronounced upon a Mexican, named José de la Luz Vega, by the American military tribunals. José de la Luz Vega was a poor fellow, with a mother and several children, who was apprehended and convicted of having encouraged desertion. We are still ignorant whether he was really guilty, but it is certain that he was sentenced to die, and was about to be shot, when through the mediation of D. Pablo Martinez del Rio, General Scott was persuaded to reprieve him on the eve of his execution. Afterwards the gentlemen commissioned to arrange the peace interposed, and, when the treaty was concluded, José de la Luz Vega was set at liberty. Many persons afterwards claimed the honor of saving this unfortunate Mexican, but the truth is as we have related it.

The robbing of the house of D. Manuel Fernandez, in the street of La Palma, was also very notorious. Eight or nine Americans, among whom were two volunteer officers, passed from the balconies of the Bella Union into the adjoining azotea, and from thence descended into the house of Fernandez. Being overheard, one of the clerks, named D. Manuel Zorrilla, a very estimable young Spaniard, fired upon them from a window, and one of the villains in turn discharged a pistol and killed Zorrilla. The robbers being taken in less than a fortnight, were tried and condemned to be hung, but the Philanthropic Society and many other persons interceded in their behalf, and they were pardoned.

During the residence of the Americans in the capital, the press was not inactive. An American, named Peoples, who had come with the army, after the action of Cerro-Gordo, published in Jalapa a newspaper in English, entitled, The American Star. When General Scott occupied Puebla, Peoples continued his publication in that city, and he established it in Mexico a few days after the Americans took possession. It was a periodical, which in general contained articles insulting to the Mexicans, but especially against the military and General Santa Anna, although all its opinions inclined to peace. Some time afterwards another newspaper appeared in English, entitled "The North American," supported by the officers of the invading army friendly to annexation. A young man named Tobey, wrote for it, and an officer of volunteers, named Reed. It inserted some editorials in Spanish, which attracted attention, as they were supposed to be written with a Mexican pen. The object of this newspaper was to demonstrate the advantages which would result to the country, from its annexation to the United States, but insults and bitter and unjust criticisms were not omitted.

The newspapers in Spanish, also published during that time, were the Monitor, which took up, as much as possible, the defence of Mexico; the Eco del Comercio, which decidedly endeavored to prove the advantages of concluding a peace and the uniting of parties; and the Cangrejo, whose aim was, at that time, to grossly assault the most respectable men of the country, although its paragraphs occasionally contained some wit.

The churches, during the period to which we refer, remained open and frequented, as usual; and the church, thanks to the talent and good policy of the Most Illustrious Sr. Archbishop of Cesarea, D. Juan Manuel Irisarri, maintained her rights and was respected. The charitable relief, likewise, which this venerable pastor of the church bestowed upon the Mexican prisoners is well worthy of being mentioned. His death, however, occurred before he could receive this sincere eulogy from us, but not before his influence was successfully used with General Scott to have these same prisoners set at liberty.

The residence of the Americans in Mexico will form an era to be for ever remembered, like the French remember the occupation of Paris by the allied army.*

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* As the text has portrayed but faintly the scenes that transpired during the occupation of the capital, it may be proper to follow the example, and to refrain from any further illustrations. The impression will exist on the minds of all who were in Mexico with the American army, that the inhabitants are far from slandering them in this chapter.

The description of the appearance of the American army is in some respects correct, although a great change was effected as soon as new clothing could be procured, and the proper conveniences for putting it in order.

But it is worthy of remark, that all the books which have been yet published in the United States on this war, and which are embellished with engravings, portray the American officers and soldiers in full uniform, as though they were on parade at one of our city garrisons. This conveys a wrong impression, and is far from being the fact. The soldiers were dressed always in light blue jackets, and with cloth fatigue caps. The officers never wore their uniforms, but only the undress frock coat, and fatigue cap. Epaulettes may be said to have been unknown, for it was a very rare sight to see one even on a general officer. In fact they were not used by them except on extraordinary occasions.

As the history of costumes is preserved in paintings and engravings, the truth should be preserved in these as well as in writing. It is well known that the full United States uniform would not be suitable for the climate of Mexico, and was, therefore, never worn.—AM. ED.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MAZATLAN.

THE importance which, in our opinion, is due to this article does not spring from the feat of arms that resulted in the taking of the ports of the Pacific: for, it is well known that little, if any, resistance was met in the occupation by the invading forces. Our intention in these pages has been to preserve for history the narration of the state in which that part of the Republic was found, and which could be commanded by the possession of Mazatlan. Therefore, we have believed it indispensable to lightly review the events that transpired in this port, which have so much scandalized the whole nation, and, at the same time, was the cause why the Americans discovered even Mazatlan as well as California undefended.

In April, 1846, Colonel D. Rafael Tellez arrived at that port with a respectable body of troops, marching to Upper California to protect that country against the invaders. The spectacle which the plentiful revenues of the maritime custom-house presented to this chief, the demoralization in which it there existed, the systematic peculation on the taxes, and the limited energy of the government at too great a distance flattered his passions, and he formed the resolution not to pass Mazatlan, and compromised himself at once with Colonel Banedeli in a conspiracy against the administration of Paredes.

Tellez pronounced on the 7th of May, and designated General Santa Anna as the leader in a plan in favor of the federal system which afterwards was realized. From that day he endeavored to depose D. Ignacio Gutierrez Comandancia General, of Sinaloa, and to secure this post by which he could, from time to time, advance the success of the revolution against Paredes, consummated in August of the same year. It may be observed that the American ships of war were received as friends and came into port; notwithstanding the blockade with which they attacked other points, principally in the Gulf. Neither did this fact, nor the occupation of Upper California, nor the opening of hostilities on the banks of the Bravo, put Sr. Tellez to any inconvenience.

Colonel Tellez continued as Comandancia General, without any event occurring of note until the 7th of September, when the enemy's sloop of war, the Warren, appeared in the bay, and captured, without a previous declaration of a blockade, the brig Malek-Adel, which was found at the disposal of our commander of the marine.

Although there was enthusiasm at the time, this act roused the patriotic feelings of the municipal authorities of Mazatlan, who assembled the people for a defence. In one day they made an enlistment of more than 600 men, disposed to support the garrison in any attack upon the enemy. In fact, they gave proof of their decision, chiefly on the 30th and 31st of October, and the 1st of November, when a schooner and several national gun-boats forced the blockade, and were protected somewhat by the garrison, as well as by the neighborhood, against the molestation of the enemy. This good understanding between the inhabitants and the garrison existed until the end of December, when Sr. General D. Ventura Mora came to destroy it, who had been named Commandante-General to relieve Sr. Tellez. The entrance of this general into the command was the beginning of a new revolution that had beforehand been agreed upon, and which broke forth on the 13th of January, 1847, in proclaiming the dictatorship of General Santa Anna. This plan was supported by the very garrison that from May to August had sustained the democratic principle.

General Santa Anna disapproved of this pronunciamento, and General Mora withdrew from it. But in the meanwhile some merchant vessels paid the duties of importation and consumption on the goods they brought; and it was not known afterwards what use was made of these large sums.

The constituent congress of 1847 granted an amnesty to all the rebels of Mazatlan, except the chief, if within a certain time they would lay down their arms, and return to their obedience to the government. This circumstance enabled Mora to come to Mexico, free from all responsibility, reposing upon the protection of General Santa Anna. Tellez took, for the second time, the command of the arms of Sinaloa, without any order from the supreme government, called solely, or rather directed, by some factious men who joined him in the disorder to take part in it. The government itself indirectly encouraged this evil, since, although legally they were bound to recognise Señor General D. Téofilo Romero as commandante-general of that state, yet the disaffected of February were not discountenanced; and so far from punishing this attempt they had the weakness to enter into a correspondence with Colonel Tellez, viewing him in the character of a chief of its arms. It must be remembered that all the rebels of February declared they would accept the amnesty conceded to them. But still they did not comply with the conditions imposed, and continued with arms in their hands, making war on the authorities of Sinaloa, even to marching a section of 150 men against them. This was under the pretext of watching the contraband of which they accused the governor of the State: and for which object Tellez had succeeded in having conferred on him a special commission by the supreme government. This section came to fight and to conquer the troops that the State had placed at the disposal of Señor General Romero, who was killed in the action in the place called Las Flechas, on the 15th of September, 1847. The victory made the troops of Tellez impudent, and they entered the capital of the State intent on pillage and other outrages, which only a triumphant mob would undertake.

The death of General Romero and the dispersion of the authorities, who in this way could only escape from the hands of their enemies, were the last blows which Sinaloa should suffer. For the Americans found it completely disorganized and incapable of presenting the slightest resistance. Tellez and his followers led a dissipated life, far from encouraging the spirit of the inhabitants, and which served only to scandalize them and to show what fruit might be expected from the sacrifices made by the inhabitants.

The severity with which we must write these notes, reducing us to the narration of the transactions relative to the war with the United States requires the omission of many events, that might demonstrate the disorganization of the State of Sinaloa, and the division even of Colonel Tellez. We will leave then the above statement for all the nation and our posterity, to have before them the situation in which Mazatlan was placed at the time of its being invaded.

We will now turn our view to the American forces. On the 10th of November, the enemy's frigates, Independence, Congress, and the Cyane, were seen in the port of Mazatlan, having in communication with them the transport, the Iris. These which had been observed eight days before now came to anchor, the first near to the beach of Olas Altas, the second in Puerto-Viejo, and the others where it is customary to make the largest embarcations. The garrison of the port, composed of 200 men of the battalion of California, 100 of the company of sappers, 60 dragoons and artillery, and 200 National Guards, evacuated the place the same night, proceeding to Palos-Prietos. At one on the next day they withdrew from thence to the post of the Venadillo, situated three leagues from the port.

In evacuating the place Tellez prevailed on the political authorities to publish a decree, in which they held every Mexican a traitor who should continue in it after its occupation by the enemy. But they took no measures either of resistance or to obtain guarantees in favor of the inhabitants, nor even for the protection of the retreat of the troops and trains. These left in the most frightful disorder, principally the last and the artillery, that departed three hours after the troops, without any protection whatever.

At eight in the morning of the 11th, a commission composed of four officers appeared on the mole, who, under a flag of truce, brought a summons, signed by Commodore Shubrick, for the surrender of the place within the space of four hours. Tellez, who was then with some officers, named two of them commissioners to receive the papers of the enemy, and to answer that they would deliver them to their chief, but that the place would not surrender. Notwithstanding, this answer compromised the safety of the inhabitants. Tellez proceeded to join his troops at Venadillo, without caring for the consequences that would happen to Mazatlan, from its abandonment and insecurity. At eleven in the morning the president of the municipal junta, D. José Vasavilbaso, went in a boat of the British brig of war the Spy, on board the ship Independence, from which the commodore's signal was flying. His object was to obtain a modification of the terms proposed, but which was not granted. However, the necessary guarantees being conceded which Mr. Shubrick offered to arrange after the occupation, an understanding was effected at one o'clock.

About 500 marines and 100 soldiers, with 4 pieces of light artillery, composed the division that occupied Mazatlan without opposition. The entrance of these troops took place in the best order, and after securing the commanding points one half of the marines re-embarked the same evening. On the days following, they seized also the eminences and hills that commanded the road to the interior, and strengthened them with heavy ordnance. In the meantime, our garrison, who could very well have attacked the enemy, remained stationary at Venadillo, having its advance in Palos-Prietos, Urias, and other points which suffered along with the whole force from the want of provisions. The Commandante-general and his staff were established at the rancho of the Otates.

Among the inhabitants of Mazatlan no violence was observed on the part of the Americans, except the collection of arms, equipments, and trains, that existed in the cuartel of the National Guard and the house of Tellez which was searched. The municipal junta of Mazatlan on the 13th of November, made the solemn protest that they would acknowledge no authority which did not emanate from the Mexican Constitution, whatever might be the time the foreign government should continue. On the same day this junta and a commission named by the American forces entered into a convention to insure guarantees to the inhabitants.

Twenty of the most distinguished citizens agreed to the public session of the municipal junta, to which all others of any standing were notified, to hear their opinion respecting the arrangement that ought to be made. All the junta, as well as the citizens, except two persons, believed that they ought to support the articles which this contained. Therefore, it was signed by the political authority of Mazatlan and the commissioners of the American chief, to whom it was transmitted, and as usual, for his ratification. Tellez declared the port in a state of siege, and prohibited the entry of provisions and all communication with the inhabitants.

After the ratification of the convention, the municipal junta transmitted another note to the commissioners of the commodore, declaring the arrangement made, as null, as it had not received the assent desired among the people. He likewise sent a communication to the government of the State which Tellez represented, making known to it that the act was repealed, after having broken the articles that had not been signed by the American chief. But the people of Mazatlan assembled, and declared the articles agreed upon as still subsisting, and appointed persons *ad interim* to represent them. The Commodore also, through a commissioner, intimated to the municipal junta, that if they resigned their political authority in the port he would proclaim martial law; consequently, the agreement remained standing and some persons of the junta returned.

While these affairs were happening in Mazatlan the forces of

Colonel Tellez were inactive at Venadillo. They remained in this condition for about two months, without harassing in any other manner than in not permitting small detachments of Americans to pass into the interior of the country. During this period the enemy did not attempt to advance from Mazatlan or to attack the Mexican troops. Some skirmishes took place, however, but of no great consequence. One of these was on the morning of the 20th of November, when an American party attacked the advance at Urias, commanded by D. Carlos Horns, obliging them to return to the main body of our soldiers, after a three hours' engagement, when this Horns was distinguished for his brilliant deportment in commanding the advance. On the same day Colonel Tellez was surprised in Polos-Prietos, by a detachment of Americans, against whom he defended himself with gallantry, although he had only three men and they exceeded fifty in number. Justice requires that we should not pass over this event in silence, that does him honor, as we have likewise published others which are not to his credit.

One of our advance pickets was surprised on the 14th of December, which was at Higueras. The enemy penetrated within musket range without being seen in the house where it was posted. The firing of their guns was the first notice of their coming, and as was natural, it caused a complete disorganization of the detachment, which dispersed, leaving two killed, one of whom was the wife of the commandante. The armament, munitions, equipments, horses, &c., fell into the hands of the Americans, who took the horses and a part of the other articles after having destroyed the remainder, and they then retired. A party of cavalry was also surprised at the post of Abal, on the 25th of December, under the command of Commandante D. Augustin Palafox de Ibargüengoitia. The surprise, as usual, produced our dispersing, and the loss of armament, trains, and munitions.

All these skirmishes would have had perhaps a less flattering result, if the force with which Colonel Tellez besieged Mazatlan could have gained any sympathy before the occupation, from the inhabitants, or if they had possessed the requisite patriotism to forget the civic quarrels when fighting for the cause of independence. But it was decreed that we Mexicans should pay for our going astray and suffer the consequences of a war for which we did not think to prepare.

The Americans established a civil government in Mazatlan, as in all the ports; published several decrees, and established some contributions, that made it impossible for a continuation of the political authorities that existed there. Therefore, on the 23d of December the President of the municipal junta informed the civil governor that he could not fulfil the decrees sent to him for the assessment and payment of the tax, as he did not believe them to be in conformity with the convention of the 13th of November. He was, he said, consequently obliged to dissolve the junta and to renew the protest made on the very day the articles were signed. He further added that this dissolution would take place in six days after the date of the note, so that the governor might appoint officers to maintain order and tranquillity. The municipal junta accordingly resigned, and other citizens were named by order of the governor to compose it. Mazatlan continued in this condition until the concluding of peace.

With regard to the civil affairs of Sinaloa the Mexican Government believed it indispensable that an end should be put to the illegal administration of Tellez, and forwarded to the State the requisite means. With these the proper authorities recovered their power, obliged Tellez to deliver up his arms on the 20th of February, 1848, and thus terminated the internal discord which had the most scandalised the Republic. It was necessary for us to touch these points, however briefly, for the proper elucidation of the present article. Nevertheless, we have desired to refrain from giving an extensive description of the anarchy and disorder with which, for some time, we saw the State of Sinaloa overwhelmed. We have also omitted the narrative of various events, and even the naming of the persons accompanying Colonel Tellez in the revolution, or, perhaps, who led him into it. We have only thought of preserving in these notes the transactions, which it is proper to know in order to form an opinion upon the occurrences of the past war.

Commandante-General D. Cárlos Cruz Echeverría, on the 29th of January, had command of the troops of the government, which were to operate upon those of Tellez, and at whose disposition these were afterwards placed. He established his head-quarters in the Villa of the Union, distant nine leagues from the port occupied by the Americans. Upon the 23d of December before, he had reiterated the decree published by Colonel Tellez on the 13th of November, declaring Mazatlan in a state of siege. He prohibited, under the most severe penalties, all introduction of provisions into the place, or communication with the inhabitants, to whom he gave three days for leaving the town.

When Señor Echeverría was established in the Union, he commenced upon the 31st of the same month to post his advances, to confine the enemy behind their fortifications, and to not permit them leaving the place. But no other means were taken, as much from the want of supplies as because at any moment he would have to turn over the command of his troops to the general of division, D. Juan Pablo Anaya. This gentleman in fact received the command of the troops. But it is known to our readers, that on the 2d of February a treaty of peace was agreed upon between the belligerent nations, and a general armistice was granted, which, in the meanwhile, the representatives of both ratified, as well as afterwards the treaty of Guadalupe.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INVASION OF THE HUASTECA—ACTION OF THE CALABOZO.

As soon as the Government had notice of the evacuation of Tampico, they became sensible of the importance of posting in its vicinity a body of troops, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to shelter the Huasteca. For this purpose the military line of Huejutla was created, and the command confided to General D. Francisco de Garay.

The serious affairs of the war exhausted the resources of the Government, and they were consequently insufficient to assist this General in sustaining his line. The difficulties were numerous which he had to overcome to fulfil completely his commission. But by endeavoring to conciliate opinion, he sought in the patriotism of the inhabitants and in the zeal and coöperation of the local authorities the means to dissipate the obstacles and to triumph more decidedly over the enemy, who might come to attack him. This event is what we propose to describe in this article. However, before entering into this measure, we believe it proper to explain the *true* circumstances that actuated him, and the situation in which the military line at the time was found.

In the month of May, 1847, the Government of Mexico sent to Huejutla 200 American prisoners. This proceeding was truly unfortunate, for beyond the impolicy of designating for these men a point so near to a strong place occupied by the enemy, Huejutla afforded no means for keeping them safely, which should have been perceived. The houses were inadequate, the garrison was insufficient, and the necessary supplies were wanting for subsistence. The Government were not aware of all these circumstances, and they were not sufficient to make it vary their decision after they were communicated and fully explained by General Garay.

In truth, as we have asserted from the beginning, the military line of Huejutla was from its creation scarcely considered, in consequence of the superior cares that absorbed the attention and pressed upon the Government. Therefore it happened that the towns could not support for any length of time nor defray the expenses of the National Guards, that had to be to the number of 800 cantoned successively in Tantoyuca, a small chief town in one corner of the state of Vera Cruz, and in Huejutla, belonging to the Prefect of the state of Mexico. The inhabitants of the latter were found without any defence upon the entrance into it of the above-mentioned prisoners. But still they did at the moment what was proper, and to their guard the merit is due for serving while they remained there with commendable zeal and without pay.

We would also be wanting in our duty as impartial writers if we were not to record that in this painful situation the authorities and citizens of Huejutla gave their own money, without any expectation of being repaid, at a positive sacrifice to their families, and which for six months they daily distributed to the Americans.

From this, two reflections remain to be added, and to which we call attention. We present them only as historical notes for the reader, to form his own opinions, for we consider the events are of such recent occurrence that all can appreciate the impartiality which is proposed to be carried out in our writing. Nor must we forget that there is a mind which we have been ordered to enlighten in consequence of the affairs of this war, and in which, perhaps, it would be deemed just and convenient to take into consideration what has been expressed upon it.

The first of these is that the prisoners were delivered in Huejutla like if they were free and in the act of going on their way to Tampico; while on the other side General Garay provided for the safe custody and for the negotiation of their exchange in the place of Señor General D. Rómulo Diaz de la Vega. And the second was that at the time they sent these prisoners General Garay was required to transmit to Mexico 300 muskets out of the 600 given to him for this extensive line marked out.

Finally, in this proceeding, it remains for us to say, that when the Governor of Tampico was advised of the detention of the prisoners in Huejutla, he demanded them. The answer returned was not the least prudent or circumspect, and he resolved to take them by force, trusting to the weakness of the line to oppose the attack, and this is the act to which we refer.

On the morning of the 10th of July, General Garay was informed by the alcalde of Pánuco, that in his village 250 men, with 2 pieces of artillery, were seen, who were going to attack. Soon after he received also a notice from the prefect of Ozuluama of others in the towns of Tampico el Alto, and Pueblo-Viejo, in which it was stated that a similar force had passed the river on the evening of the 8th, in the direction of head-quarters, and with the intent to liberate the prisoners.

The chief of the line being threatened on both flanks, and by forces four times as numerous, they said, as what he could oppose to check them, determined immediately to enter to the centre of the Sierra Madre with the prisoners. He intrusted them, therefore, to 80 infantry of the National Guard of the towns of Molango and Zacualtipan, of the State of Mexico, and 40 dragoons of those of Tempoal and Chiconamel, pertaining to Vera Cruz, leaving in Huejutla 22 soldiers of different arms of the regular army. Neither in Ozuluama, in Pánuco, in Tantoyuca, nor in any other point of the line, had then any military force been assembled, in consequence of the extreme insolvency already explained. Wherefore, the enemy met no obstacle on their march, or in taking possession of these places. Yet, afterwards, these organized with sufficient celerity, from which may be perceived the energy of General Garay in that direction.

The prisoners and their guard marched without any kind of provisions, and without any anticipation of their arrival, beyond what the mails brought; so that the towns on their route assisted them *in charity* to their necessary wants.

On the same day Huejutla was declared in a state of siege, and the natives were employed to save the muskets remaining, the munitions of war, the dismounted artillery, the official archives, the tobacco, and the stamped paper.

The scarcity of money and arms was great; but the inhabitants of Huejutla, Tantoyuca, and other appurtenances of the States of Mexico, Vera Cruz, and San Luis, effectually co-operated; and in a manner which, if ever so limited for their very small populations and resources, is at least deserving of praise, and which ought not to be forgotten.

On the 12th of June, 1847, General D. Francisco Garay was placed at the head of about 550 men of the national militia of the Huasteca, and particularly of Huejutla, and of 15 or 20 men of the line. Leaving this town and crossing the river of the Ules, very full of water at that season, he posted himself on a bank of another river called the Calabozo. He ordered forthwith a slight fortification of two heights, that commanded the ford, making breastworks of trees, and placing a guerrilia in ambush, on the other margin of the stream, to attack the enemy in the rear.

He had not even made these dispositions when he was informed that the enemy were marching forward, although cautiously and in good order. The force consisted more or less of some 550 men, one piece of artillery, and of eight pack mules.

They advanced in silence to the bank of the river, and a captain of the vanguard was preparing to undertake the crossing. Our forces, placed in the position mentioned, advanced against them, and as they were close to the shore General Garay ordered the musketry to open the fire. At first this did not appear to cause any surprise among the Americans; but the captain who led them being mortally wounded they retreated in precipitation to unite with the reserve situated on the other shore, and opposite to our positions. For a half hour there was complete inaction; but getting over the surprise that the firmness with which they were received had given them, they commenced a quick firing of grape-shot with their pieces of artillery, and which was answered with boldness.

The enemy observing that it was impossible to dislodge the brave citizens who defended their country, from the posts which they had resolved to defend at all hazards, changed the direction of their piece and continued the fire. Then the guerrilia in ambush fell upon the convoy of mules and dispersed them. This circumstance threw the Americans into confusion, and they retreated after having lost one sergeant and nine soldiers killed and drowned, one lieutenant and four soldiers wounded, and fifteen prisoners. The peasants, armed as a kind of volunteers, from the neighborhood, attacked the enemy also in their retreat, taking from them 20 riding horses and more than 60 mules loaded with provisions.

The enemy continued their retreat in the direction of the Pánuco. In passing through Tantoyuca they committed some disorders and robberies among the population, and continued on without resting. General Garay, whose perseverance and energy at this time merit particular commendation, determined to pursue the enemy, and therefore sent one section under Colonel D. Domingo Jáuregui, while he took the head of another. They were followed for ten leagues. But they marched with rapidity and without interruption, and General Garay returned to the rancho of Horcon and entered Huejutla, where the delight of the citizens was equal to the patriotism and meritorious sacrifices made to repel this invasion.

Very little has been said of this event of such happy importance for the Mexican arms, and we have desired to preserve this small chapter. We desire to pay the tribute of homage in our record to all who in this unequal and unfortunate contest are known to have behaved with honor and patriotism.

CHAPTER XXX.

GUERRILIAS.*

Before the war commenced, the common topic of conversation was upon the mode of making it. Some were of the opinion that all the passes of the Sierra ought to be fortified, so that the enemy would have to remain in the tierra caliente. Again it was thought great battles should be given on the plains where the cavalry could operate. While others believed we should never risk a battle field, but rather establish a universal system of guerrilias, harassing the enemy on their march and falling upon them at favorable opportunities, whenever they should offer. Whatever might be the weight of these suggestions, the war was made in the manner we have attempted to describe in the preceding chapters, and when Taylor had occupied Monterey, and Scott Puebla, the system of guerrilias began, which, although much was said of it in the American journals, still it did not fail to seriously incommode the invaders.

It would be impossible for us to mark minutely the operations of the diminutive sections of troops, that from their very nature were desultory and fleeting. We must, therefore, content ourselves with designating the most noted of these affairs.

Guerrilias were formed in the States of Puebla, Mexico, Vera Cruz, and Tamaulipas. In the first they were under General D. Joaquin Rea; in the second, under D. Juan Clímaco Robelledo; and in the third, under Generals D. José Urrea, and D. Antonio Canales.*

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* There has been no uniformity in the American spelling of this word. In Spanish it is *guerrillas*. But as it is pronounced as though the ll had the sound of li, it has been thought best to write it in that manner.—Am. Ed.

In a few words we will refer to the most conspicuous affairs of these parties.

When the army of General Scott arrived in the valley of Mexico, one of his detachments was attacked by the guerrilia of Colin, and gained some success, since an aid of General Scott, the Lieut. Hamilton, was pierced by a lance, some soldiers killed and others made prisoners. The rest were indebted to the fleetness of their horses for their safety, and leaving in the power of the party considerable booty.

During the time that General Bravo was charged with the general command of Puebla, he issued a quantity of commissions for guerrilias to persons, who, without doubt, were not asked for sufficient preliminary guarantees. It therefore resulted that the small villages and the haciendas in the State suffered some damage. But justice obliges us to say that General Rea endeavored to quell the abuses and to reduce the armed parties to good order.

While General Scott was invading the capital, they besieged Colonel Childs, and reduced him to the cuartel of San José and the hill of Loreto. They also sometimes performed exploits of daring and valor worthy of eulogium. On one occasion, in sight of the enemy, and under the fire of the Loreto, they took a large number of mules belonging to the trains, and on another they rode through the streets of Puebla and encountering a detachment of American cavalry, they attacked them furiously, leaving the greater part of them dead in the streets and in the Alameda. They intercepted provisions for the enemy, and night after night they used musketry against the cuartel of San José, keeping the Americans awake, and in a perpetual state of alarm.

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* It is believed this is a misprint in the text. It should read Padre Jarauta in Vera Cruz, and Urrea and Canales in Tamaulipas. In fact, the two Generals were not in Vera Cruz during the war, but on the Rio Grande, while the best of reasons can be given for the fact that the Padre was below Jalapa. Some persons in Mexico said that Urrea was an American, that his real name was Urey, and had migrated from Cumberland valley in Pennsylvania to Kentucky, and from there some years since to the Pánuco, where he married a wealthy lady. Never having heard this story from any very authentic source, its truth cannot be vouched for. It may, however, be correct.—Am. Ed.

In Vera Cruz the chiefs of guerrillas were D. Manuel García, D. Juan Aburto, D. Francisco Mendoza, D. José María García, and D. Vincente Salcedo, and in Orizaba, El padre Jaurauta, and D. Juan Climaco Robolledo.

Some of those brave and meritorious young men of Vera Cruz also abandoned their homes and assembled in the mountains to form a guerrilla or to enlist in the ranks of those already established. These parties, added to the cavalry of Coscomatepec, counted when united, more than 400 men, and were composed for the most part of rancheros of the State of Vera Cruz. Among their chiefs, Robolledo excelled for his valor, moderation, and for his humane and generous character, and Padre Jaurauta, for his keen mind, his energy, and his extreme courage. Aburto, likewise, was much distinguished, and it may be said that these three persons possessed the true characteristics required for the adventurous and dangerous life of the guerrilla.

We would desire to minutely describe all the exploits performed among the hot woods of the State of Vera Cruz by many of these good citizens. But it must suffice to say, that from the admission of the enemy themselves, no small detachment could pass over the road; and the cargoes which they had, came guarded by large forces of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. In spite of these, however, they were still constantly attacked, and losing soldiers, mules, and wagons, as happened in one of the affairs at Telomé to a convoy. There the guerrillas had assembled and took 40 wagons, and more than 400 pack mules, and killed very near 100 men. This kind of hostilities the enemy called barbarous: but they soon hastened to establish the same on their side. Captain Walker, who was killed at Huamantla, conducted one on the Vera Cruz road, and committed the greatest cruelties, perchance on innocent rancheros, who formed no part of the Mexican guerrilias. For a long time desolation and death were reduced to system on all this road, the cottages burned, the ranchos deserted, and the dead bodies of men and the carcases of mules lay unburied along with broken and plundered wagons, which happened in some of these partial combats.

The guerrilias of Tamaulipas were recruited from the rancheros of the villas, and were commanded by Canales, along with the auxiliary squadrons of Guanajuato, of Allende and Fieles de Guanajuato, commanded by Generals Urrea and Romero. They had under them likewise several officers of the army of the line, such as D. Emilio Lambert, D. Augustin Ricoy, D. Augustin Iturbide, D. Pantaleon Gutierrez, and others.

General Urrea passed from Tula to Victoria, and from thence to the State of New Leon, making marches and countermarches to surprise detachments of the enemy on their route from Matamoros to Monterey. On the 24th of February, 1847, at an intermediate point on this road, called Agua Nueva, the guerrilias attacked a convoy, and captured 121 wagons loaded with clothes and provisions, and 137 mules also with clothes, besides leaving many killed, wounded, dispersed, and prisoners taken, and breaking up the force that accompanied the train, which exceeded 300 men. General Taylor, soon after, assessed on the inhabitants a contribution to replace the value of the goods taken by the guerrilias. These, elated with their booty and others without any supplies, were gradually disbanded, until finally the brigade was withdrawn from the road and passed to this side of the Sierra, and was posted at Tula de Tamaulipas. War made systematically by guerrilias appears to us would in the long run have ruined the enemy and given success to the Republic.

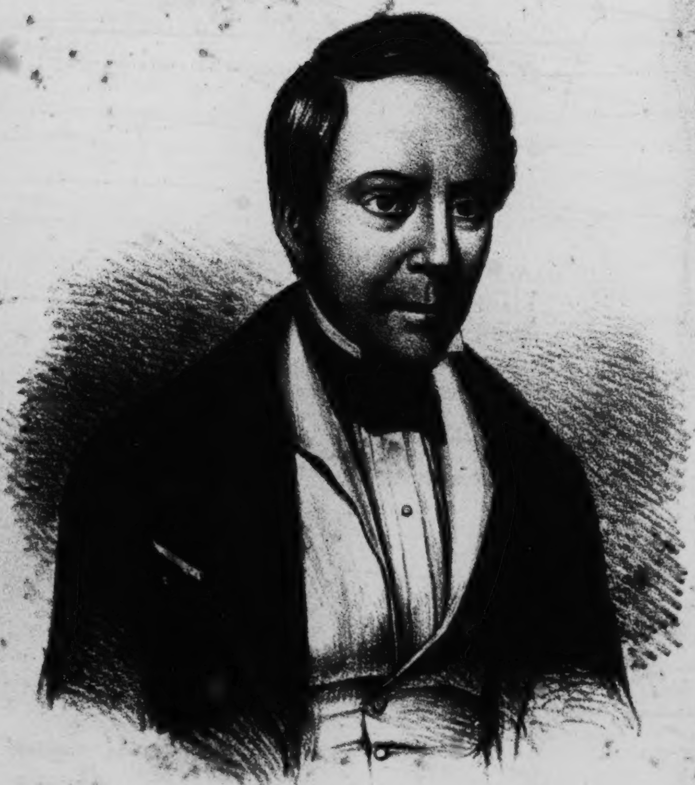
CHAPTER XXXI.

TABASCO.

On the 21st October, 1847, a schooner was observed off the bar which was supposed to be a merchant vessel, seeking the entrance to run in. But it was perceived that an American man-of-war was approaching it, where it was impossible for the latter to escape from its battery and where a boat following captured it. On the 22d, other ships, being five sails, and two steamers, cast anchor at the same place in the evening. These all entered on the morning of the 23d, and took possession of the coast, which was found without any protection. They discovered two merchant steamboats, which they manned and declared prizes. Making use of these the invasion commenced on the next day, when they undertook their march upon the capital. At noon on the 25th they arrived and posted themselves in front of the town. Here the Americans demanded a surrender, declaring at the time that if it were not complied with in fifteen minutes, they would destroy the place, and put the whole garrison to the sword. As the answer was not such as they desired, the commissioners returned on board, and their fire opened with throwing bombs. This was followed by attacks on five occasions, without the least favorable result.

At break of day, on the 26th, they renewed their hostilities, by using their artillery against the place, and returning twice to the assault. In the first attack they gained no advantage, and in the second they were completely routed, even to the extreme of having to abandon the field. All the little fleet, in company with the two captured steamboats, after this, left for Vera Cruz, and stationed two armed ships upon the coast to stop the trade.

The garrison that had so patriotically defended Tabasco, was composed of less than 300 men, formed from the battalions of Acayucan, 23 artillerymen, 1 company of infantry, and 1 company of cavalry of the line.



D^{n}. LUIS DE LA ROSA

Ackerman's lith 120 Fulton S^{t} N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXII.

NEW NEGOTIATIONS OF PEACE.

The negotiations which were begun in the house of Alfaro terminated in a manner far from pacific, and the issue of a question the most important for the Mexican Republic, was confided to the fate of arms. The events of the war were fatal. The Americans had conquered in Padierna, Churubusco, the Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and in the garitas of the capital: and each made more difficult the ending of the contest.

Sr. D. Manuel de la Peña y Peña, in the character of President of the Supreme Court of Justice, became the same of the Republic. His inclinations, sufficiently marked for peace in 1845, when minister of relations, caused him at once to adopt the idea, that under his government the consummation of peace would be easy. To pave the way, leading to that end, a proposition came from the same American commissioner to enter into negotiations. Our cabinet received it favorably, but did not desire to hasten a business of such importance, since it would not be long before the Congress of the Union would assemble in Querétaro to elect a President.

Finally the national representatives met in that city, although not as promptly as ought to have been expected. General D. Pedro María Anaya, chosen chief magistrate of the Republic, pursued the same principles as his predecessor, whom he named minister of relations. Negotiations for peace were then undertaken formally: Mr. Trist being still continued in the name of the United States, and on our part Señors Couto, Atristain, and Cuevas. These we have already mentioned in a former article. They proceeded in all that related to this business with the greatest reserve, so that in spite of the public slanders circulated, nothing positively was known against them.

After various discussions and long conferences there was signed in the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo by the commissioners of both parties a treaty of peace, friendship, and limits, between Mexico and the United States. As this changed entirely the attitude of both sides, it finally was necessary to temporarily suspend hostilities, and therefore an armistice was agreed upon. By this all military operations were paralysed until the result was known, either favorable or otherwise, of the treaty that put an end to the war.

In conformity with instructions from each of the Republics, the treaty to be binding required the ratification of the American senate and the congress of Mexico. And as was proper they fixed the time so as not to leave it indefinite, of four months, which were considered sufficient for that purpose.

When Mr. Polk, the President of the United States, communicated to the Senate the treaty of peace, he remarked that Mr. Trist had transcended his authority, since he had ordered him to withdraw, and had decided that whatever propositions of peace Mexico should make, might be transmitted to the American commanding general. However, the senate passed upon all, and by its ratification, recognised the act of the ex-commissioner.

But the treaty was not approved in the very terms in which it was drawn at Guadalupe. Three modifications were made of some importance. The first was upon the exercise of the Catholic religion in the ceded territory: the second, upon the grants of lands made by our general government and particular states: and the third, upon the permission to sell or assign the sum stipulated as the indemnity. These amendments being carried, Messrs. Clifford and Sevier were appointed to arrange the ratifications.

On the other side Mexico had other difficulties in confirming this most important negotiation. The first and probably the most serious of all was the assembling of the general congress: without which nothing could be done, according to the existing constitution. The administrations of Peña and Anaya made strenuous exertions to overcome the obstacles, presented to the opening of the chambers. But time passed away without their accomplishing it, and April commenced when there was not even yet the requisite number of representatives in Querétaro. Finally in the beginning of May, with great labor, they arrived, and on the 7th the sessions commenced.

Peña y Peña having in January preceding returned again to the presidency in pursuance of the constitutional provision, pronounced a discourse. He dwelt largely in it upon the policy pursued by the government and upon the motives that had induced it to declare decidedly for the peace that had been made.

Congress at once examined the affair the most important on which they had ever been assembled. The documents of the greatest interest which were then presented, to give light and information, and to contribute to the favorable result of their acts, were two reports. One of these was presented by the minister of relations, D. Luis de la Rosa, entirely devoted to enforcing the arguments in favor of peace, and refuting those on which the opposite parties for the war relied. The other was subscribed by the commissioners who had signed the treaty of Guadalupe, in which they undertook to prove that they had obtained the greatest possible advantages for the Republic in the most deplorable circumstances, which had obliged them to agree to the extravagant pretensions of the conqueror.

The committee of relations of the Chamber of Deputies, to whom it belonged to report upon the approval or rejection of the treaty, was increased by two members, so that Jimenez, Lares, Solana, Macedo, and Lacunza composed it. The report was presented on the 13th of May, in which, after enlarging upon the imperative necessity of peace, it concluded with the following resolution, that

"The treaty, concluded with the United States of the North, on the 2d of February, of this year, be approved, with the modifications made to it by the Senate and government of the United States."

Its discussion in the chamber was animated, decorous, and luminous. Both parties brought forward their strongest reasons, and arguments the most powerful, for and against the question. The Deputies, Muñoz, Vallanueva, Prieto, Pacheco, Rodriguez, Doblado, Aguirre, Arriaga, and Cuevas, spoke in favor of war. The advocates of peace were Micheltorena, Lares, Lacunza, Mendoza, Payno, and Elguero, and the secretary of relations, D. Luis de la Rosa. The report being put to the vote it was approved by 51 against 35. As it may be proper to know how each representative voted we publish in continuation the two lists that were formed.

In the affirmative: Almazan, Aranda, Arias, Avalos, Balderas, Barquera (D. Mucio), Barrio, Bocanegra, Brancho (D. Luis), Burquisa, Covarrubias, Cruz, Dias Guzman, Diaz Zimbron, Elloriaga, Elguero (D. Hilario), Escobar, Espinosa (D. Rafael), Garay, Godoy, Gonzalez Mendoza, Jáuregui, Jiminez, Lacunza, Lares, Liceago, Macedo, Madrid, Malo, Medina, Micheltorena, Montaño, Orozco, Palacio, Payró, Perez Paclacios, Posada, Reyes Veramendi, Rioseco, Riva Palacio, Rodrigues (D. Jacinto), Raigosa, Saldaña, Salonio, Sanchez Barquera, Serrano, Silva, Solana, Torres Torija, Villanueva (D. José), and Zamacona.

In the negative: Aguirre, Arriaga, Balaños, Buenrostro, Cañedo (D. Anastasio), Cardoso, Chavarri, Cuevas, Doblado, Elizondo, Fernandez del Campo, Granja, Herrera y Zavala, Macías, Mariscal, Mateos, Mirafuentes, Muñoz (D. Manuel), Muñoz Campuzano, Navarro, Ortiz (D. Ramon), Pacheco, Perez Tlagle, Prieto, Raso, Reynoso, Rio, Rodrigues (D. Vincente), Romero, Ruiz, Siliceo, Urqudi, Valle, Varela, and Villanueva (D. Ignacio Pio).

The Senate took up the subject forthwith. Its Committee of Relations, composed of Srs. Muñoz Ledo, Fagoaga, and Ramírez (D. Fernando), presented a report, in which they enforced anew, and accumulated reasons and facts in favor of peace. This document concluded by advising the approval of the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies. The vote in this was very little divided; and although there was almost a certainty that the treaty would pass it was very near the point of being endangered. In the Senate, however, the peace party counted on a large majority, so that beforehand, there was known to be no doubt as to the result. The only senators who spoke against it were Morales, Robredo, and Otero, whom Pedraza, Muños Ledo, Ramirez (D. Fernando), and the Minister Rosa answered. The vote was decided by 23 against 4—the three above named senators, along with D. Bernardo Flores.

On the 26th of May a protocol was formed by our minister of relations, and the commissioners Clifford and Sevier, in which the latter, declaring that they were amply authorized to that effect, made explanations very satisfactory to Mexico, how the modifications made in the treaty should be understood. With regard to this document it was not only reported to Congress, but also published in all the newspapers, wherefore it cannot be comprehended with what justice it could give rise to subsequent controversy as to its validity. Hence it caused much surprise, when in the last days of the administration of President Polk, strong accusations were made in the Congress of the United States, as well against their secretary, Buchanan, as the commissioners Clifford and Sevier, about the existence of this protocol, that unjustly was called secret, of the contents of which this legislative body declared most solemnly they were heretofore in profound ignorance. At first the matter assumed an alarming character, and even came to asserting, that the nullity of a protocol, signed by agents who exceeded their authority, invalidated the treaty of the 2d of February. But once General Taylor, being intrusted with the Presidency, as he is now, it is to be hoped new displeasure will not exist upon a subject, in which, whatever were the errors or faults of the functionaries of the United States now accused, on the part of Mexico it was conducted with every propriety and in good faith.

On the 30th of May the ratifications were exchanged in Querétaro, and thus was definitively consummated one of the affairs of the greatest historical celebrity contained in our annals. Upon a subject of such great importance discussed in the tribune and the press at very great length, we might also say much. But we abstain, nevertheless, from doing so, for three reasons. The first is, that we are fixed in the principle that has guided us throughout in this work, which we do not wish to transgress, of not substituting criticisms in the place of the simple narration of affairs. The second is, that being sadly affected by an event that has reduced us to the most frightful debasement of misfortune and discredit, we feel incapable of expressing ourselves with that impartiality that ought to characterize the historian. The third and final is, that among the editors of these notes there has always existed a great diversity of opinion upon the point; some being strenuous partisans for war, and others the most bitter defenders of the peace.

We, therefore, omit all observations. The person better informed who hereafter undertakes to write the history of this wretched period, can decide with more certainty upon the work begun by the government of Querétaro and perfected by the national representation of 1848. Perhaps, then, these sketches, but still exact notes, may serve somewhat for the better understanding of the events. This is the only interest we have, the only glory to which we aspire.*

* The treaty of peace of Guadalupe is so well known that we have not believed it necessary to publish it in continuation.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SANTA CRUZ DE ROSALES.

All the supplies, material, and other elements of war, without counting the assistance and protection of the general government, that could be granted to the State of Chihuahua to resist the invasion, had vanished in the battle of the Sacramento. Chihuahua, occupied by the enemy from the 1st of March, 1847, could not rely upon resources of any kind. But so far from their patriotism being dismayed, they sought in every way and everywhere the means to return to taking arms. D. Angel Trias, Governor of Chihuahua, came to Mexico to solicit aid for the defence of the State, and for checking the Americans advancing into the interior. He returned, however, bearing the sad news of the impossibility for the government to assist them.

Before commencing a narrative of the transactions to which we propose devoting this article, we have believed it proper to explain the situation of Chihuahua, when it suffered from the second invasion. In this way our readers can decide more correctly and better appreciate the events which we are about to relate.

In the month of January, 1848, the Governor of the State was informed that the American General, Sterling Price, with a respectable division, was proceeding to Chihuahua, and was now at El Paso del Norte. The State was wanting in the means of resistance, having expended her efforts in the year before, and could not now hope for any assistance except in that of her own sons. The patriotism of these, therefore, was invoked, and they were found ready to devote their lives and fortunes to the defence of their country. The organization of these was forthwith commenced, and in a short time the government possessed arms, supplies, and the requisite trains, to maintain in the field a force of 1,000 men, including the presidial companies. As for resources, the government had among others the liquidated product of the tobacco rents, that had been designated for the payment of the forces and the military employés whose salaries could be satisfied, in conformity with law, out of the federal treasury.

But when Trías commenced to put in practice his plan of defence, he received with a disagreeable surprise, a decree of the government of Querétaro dated the 16th of December, by which the presidial companies were disbanded, reducing their members to the character of National Guards. He received, moreover, a communication from the minister of finances, in which was inclosed an order for the administrador of tobaccoes thereafter to pay in preference the drafts drawn upon the rents, thus nullifying in consequence the assistance which previously the State had counted upon to meet the general expenses.

The picture which Chihuahua then presented could not be more dismal. On one side the enemy were advancing to attack it, and on the other, forces and supplies were scarce, without being even able to count on those most requisite to defend against the savages. However, the good citizens continued their preparations to oppose the Americans, who, stationed at El Paso del Norte, were making ready to undertake the invasion of the capital of the State.

A circular was received on the 21st of February, in which it was announced that on the 2d the treaty of peace of Guadalupe had been concluded. Although this notice, if correct, was not agreeable to the feelings of the authorities and people of Chihuahua, who had protested against any cession of territory, it served to make the government believe they could extricate themselves very honorably from the situation in which they were placed; for the treaty and armistice, in the meantime, that had been agreed upon in conformity with Art. 2d had suspended hostilities.

The government of Chihuahua was deceived when it believed it could avoid a battle, on the ground that peace had been made between the two belligerent nations, and it was also deceived when it believed that the armistice would be transmitted with the first opportunity. By only comparing the dates of events, can it clearly be known that if the resident authorities of Querétaro had operated with despatch, the battle of Rosales might perhaps have been averted.

The concluding of a peace being known in Chihuahua, they awaited every moment for an armistice, and these affairs naturally served to compose the minds of the people, and to induce them to believe that now the sacrifices required for the vigorous defence of the country were not indispensable or urgent. Suddenly, a notice was brought that the Americans were advancing upon Chihuahua with such rapidity that the news came only one day before; and only this time remained to the government to organize a defence of the city, or to take from it and to place in safety all the trains and arms as was done.

General Trías withdrew from Chihuahua with about 400 men of all arms, the greater part of them of the National Guard, 2 eight-pounders, and 2 four-pounders, 2 seven inch howitzers, and 2 swivels, to the villa of Rosales, distant twenty leagues from the capital. At half-past nine on the night of the same 6th of March, the enemy occupied Chihuahua; but, without stopping there, they continued on with forced marches in pursuit of our troops.

Trías being now in possession of Rosales, and having recruited more than 100 men in addition, he made the necessary dispositions to oppose the enemy, who came in sight at six on the morning of the 9th. On that day Generals Price and Trías had two conferences to come to some agreement. But nothing was concluded, since the former had no notice of the armistice or the treaty of peace of Guadalupe, and refused to fall back to El Paso; and the latter would not surrender, nor deliver up the train of artillery, armament, and munitions. These fruitless interviews being ended, the enemy, without attacking us, withdrew to a wood, situated out of range of our cannon.

On the 10th, Price declared the villa in a state of siege. From that day until the 15th both parties were waiting for reinforcements, and the Mexican General was employed in digging ditches and breastworks, and raising parapets and entrenchments for the most vigorous defence. In the night the enemy having received a reinforcement of 300 men, with 6 pieces of heavy ordnance, sent a summons at seven, on the 16th, to surrender. Trías refusing, their fire was opened at eight in the morning, the action became general, and was sustained with animation till half-past twelve at noon by both parties. The resistance was so vigorous that the Americans saw themselves obliged to give way after abandoning some pieces of artillery, a wagon of park, and other articles.

A large part of the people considered this a complete victory gained, and broke forth in vivas and ringing of bells. But the chiefs of our troops, more cautious and prudent, could not so easily be misled, and took suitable measures that the advantage obtained should not be converted into an unhappy defeat. Their presentiments were not long without being confirmed. The Americans reorganizing, and with a better knowledge of the ground, undertook the second attack. The action this time was more animated. They arranged an assault in due form, and for which purpose the American columns advanced upon the place. Our soldiers enthusiastic, and encouraged by the valiant chiefs, resisted with courage, and prolonged the defence until twilight. At this time the town fell into the hands of the enemy; but it was with difficulty this could put a stop to the firing, and the excesses of the soldiery, who did not fail to perpetrate a sufficient number of the latter.

The General-in-chief and the Mexican officers became prisoners of war. However, they gave them passports to go to any point of the Republic they might desire. General Trías, Colonel Justiniani, and first Adjutant Horcasitas only continued with the enemy, who were treated with the greatest consideration.

The honorable defence of the place received the greatest eulogiums from Price, who, as a testimonial of his appreciation of the defenders, permitted all the officers of our division to retain their swords.

In pursuance of the armistice of February, the Americans had to evacuate the villa of Rosales as well as the city of Chihuahua. This was demanded through commissioners, named for that purpose, without, however, their reclamations availing anything in the mind of Price. He then received by express from the supreme authorities, a positive order from General Butler, the American Commander-in-chief, relative to the evacuation. Nor upon that, however, did anything follow. Price laughed at all; he did not abandon the points illegally occupied until he had to do it. In this way, with a notorious infraction of the rights of war, several towns suffered for some time all the evils consequent on an armed possession.

But all these disasters that Chihuahua endured, from her decision and patriotism, enhanced the merit which was gained throughout this unfortunate campaign. This State will enjoy the imperturbable satisfaction of being distinguished beyond measure, in the fulfilment of duty, which the country imposes on all, and in having her sons viewed as the last who, in a warlike affair, sustained the nationality of the Republic with enthusiasm and valor.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONCLUSION.

THE ratifications of peace being exchanged in Querétaro, the campaign was ended. General Herrera having been called to the executive power, named as secretaries of the cabinet the senator D. Mariano Otero, and the deputies D. Mariano Riva Palacio, and D. José Maria Jiminez, and General D. Mariano Arista. Permission being obtained from congress the government was transferred to Mixcoac, while the Americans evacuated Mexico. When this was done it was installed in the capital under the shade of the tricolored flag which had returned to float over the Palace.

The United States troops continued their withdrawing, and finally departed from that ground, the theatre of their victories and of our disasters. The war being over there remained in our hearts a feeling of sadness for the evils that it had produced, and in our minds a fruitful lesson of how difficult it is when disorder, asperity, and anarchy prevail, to uphold the defence and salvation of a people.

APPENDIX.

As there has been no other object in these Notes than to write the facts with as much truth and impartiality as possible, we take this opportunity to make some explanations, drawn from the documents recently examined.

In the chapter entitled Polkos and Puros it is mentioned that General D. Lino Alcorta personally directed some of the attacks against the house of Buena Vista and other points, occupied by the pronouncers. We must correct this, by saying, that although Señor Alcorta was on the side of the government at the time he conducted none of the attacks.

At page 358, it is said, that the enemy on the 12th of September, opened their fire on the garita of the Niño Perdido. This was not so, but on that of the Candelaria, and on the 13th to the taking of Chapultepec. In this the bombardment wounded Colonel Flores, who died in a few days. Two other officers and two soldiers were killed, and two artillerymen were wounded.

On the 13th, after Chapultepec was captured, the General-in-chief ordered the artillery posted at the Candelaria to withdraw to the Citadel, which was done. General D. Mariano Martinez with his brigade marched to cover the line of the Paseo Nueva, the Acordada, and San Diego, from which places they retired at eleven at night to the Citadel, by a superior order.

From more correct data, and from the explanation solicited of General D. Joaquin Rangel, and in consequence of what has been stated in this work, we insert in this appendix the following corrections.

In the paragraph on page 370, the remarks reflecting upon that General and his command are altered as follows. General Rangel sustained with valor the attack made by the column of General Quitman upon the horn-work at the foot of the fortress of Chapultepec, until it was taken on the side towards the Molino del Rey. He marched with those troops remaining in this action by the line of the Veronica, and checked the enemy at the works at Santo Tomas.

This position, however, being flanked, and the General-in-chief ordering a retreat, he made it in a regular manner, by his right flank to the garita of San Cosme, where he was posted.

He then solicited four pieces from the General-in-chief, which he calculated would be requisite to sustain the point, and which Colonel Lopez Acebedo brought to him. At first he used his infantry against the enemy, and then the artillery, until half-past six in the evening, when the Americans in full force dislodged him. The troops being lost that were given him to support the battery, and the gunners being destroyed, and even the mules, he was only able to draw off a four-pounder.

We avow, as a further proof of our candor, that if it had not been for the voluntary, efficient, and courageous defence made by General Rangel on the line from Santo Tomas to San Cosme, the Americans would have taken the city on the 13th in the morning.

Touching the 300 men whom it is said General Rangel lost, the explanation is thus: When he sought the force that he had, it was with the commandante of battalion, D. Marcial Lopez de Lazcano, who, in pursuance of a positive order, had retreated from the Molinito, with somewhere above 100 men.

We must also state, that in this defence, General Rangel came off hurt in the left leg.

FINIS.